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VEDA-PADAPĀṬHA CARCĀ

(वेदपदपाठचर्चा)

by

K. V. Abhyankar
Honorary Professor of Sanskrit,
B. O. R. I., Poona,

together with the text of the

UPALEKHASŪTRAM

(उपलेखसूत्रम्)

OF

BHĀRADVĀJA-BṚHASPATI

edited by him with explanation in English

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Section VII

Peculiar features of the Padapāṭha

Section VIII

Vocal recital of the Veda Texts

उपलेखसूत्रम्

PREFACE

Vedic scholars have suggested different interpretations of several Vedic passages, the words and phrases in which have become obscure and difficult to understand over a long period of time. They seem to have applied different criteria for their interpretations, such as, etymology, comparative philology, vocabulary, metrics, semantics, and the like. The present essay on *Vedapadapāṭhacarcā*, with an edition of the *Upalekha-sūtra*, will show that an additional text in this connection can be derived from a study of the Vedic Padapātha.

In spite of the fact that the Padapāṭhas were prepared by eminent grammarians like Śaunaka, Ātreya, and others, their correctness is challenged by Patañjali who has made the carping remark that Grammar is not to follow the Padapāṭha but that the Padapāṭha must follow Grammar. This remark, ringing in my ears for a pretty long time, provoked me to find out and arrange under different heads the irregularities in the Padapāṭha of the type pointed out by Patañjali as also those of other types. My study of Grammar from the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* to the *Pātañjala-Mahābhāṣya* according to the traditional method, along with a general study of some Vedic hymns and the four available Prātiśākhya works, gave an impetus to my desire for undertaking a work involving a scrutiny of the Vedapadapāṭha required for the purpose.

There is no systematic work on the Padapāṭha available at present. The Prātiśākhyas have only mentioned here and there the apparent irregularities in the Vedic texts without trying to see why and how they have occurred. The authors of the

Padapāthas were sound grammarians, and possibly there could be no mistakes as such in their work of splitting the Vedic texts into their constituent *Padas*. What needs to be done, therefore, is to find out and examine such theories and conventions in the ancient grammatical works as may confirm the correctness of the apparently irregular words and phrases in the Padapāṭha.

An attempt is made in this small monograph to arrange and explain the apparent irregularities under different heads. A critical study of the Padapātha is bound to prove helpful in the exegesis of the Saṁhitā text of the Veda.

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K. V. Abhyankar

Veda-Padapāṭha-Carcā

The Pada-recital of the Veda texts, prepared by Śaunaka, Ātreya and others long before the time of Yāska and Pāṇini, shows quite a large number of apparent irregularities if it is strictly tested by applying the rules of Pāṇini's grammar to it. Patañjali, the balanced brilliant commentator on Pāṇini's rules of grammar, has even gone to the length of stating that the Padakāras ought to have followed strictly the rules of grammar and accordingly the Padapāṭha has to be corrected at places where it has gone against the rules of grammar. He has stated three cases[1] where, according to him, the Padapāṭha has to be corrected. Patañjali's statement is, in a way, an instance of historical anachronism if it refers to Pāṇini's grammar, as the Padapāṭhas were composed long before the grammar of Pāṇini. The statement should only be understood as a compliment to Pāṇini's grammar for its perfection of treatment. From the way in which the Saṁhitā text has been split up into its constituent *padas* and the *padas* into their constituent parts, it is obvious that there were authoritative grammar treatises before the time of Pāṇini, which the Padakāras must have followed. An attempt is made here to sum up briefly a few grammatical regulations and conventions existing at the time, of the Pada-pāṭha especially those about the meaning of the word *pada*, as also about the splitting of *padas* into their component parts.

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[1] Cf. अञ्जेश्चोपसंख्यानं संज्ञायाम् । आज्यम् । ... आङ्पूर्वस्यैव प्रयोगो भविष्यति यद्येवमवग्रहः प्राप्नोति । न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः । पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यम् । यथालक्षणं पदं कर्तव्यम् ॥ *Mahābhāṣya* (III. 1. 109, V. 2). Cf. also आशिते कर्तरि निपातनमुपधादीर्घत्वमाद्युदात्तत्वं च । ... ... आङ्पूर्वस्य प्रयोगः । यद्येवमवग्रहः प्राप्नोति । न लक्षणेन ... कर्तव्यम् (*Mahābhāṣya* VI. 1. 207 ; V. 1). Cf. also अवग्रहेऽपि न लक्षणेन ...... कर्तव्यम् (*Mahābhāṣya* VIII. 2. 16, V. 5). The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* means to say briefly that in the Padapāṭha आज्य should be recited as आऽअज्य, आशित as आऽअशित, and अक्षण्वन्तः as अक्षऽण्वन्तः .

Section I

(Dissertation on *Pada*)

प्रथमः खण्डः (पदचर्चा)

१. अर्थः पदम् ।

This is quoted as a sūtra from the *Aindra* Grammar by commentators.[1] It occurs as a sūtra defining the term *pada* in the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* (III. 2). The definition of the term *pada* as a wording capable of possessing an independent sense, is practically a backbone of the grammar of the Padakāras, showing a way to explain and remove the so-called grammatical irregularities of the Padakāras. The sūtra means that a word, as also its part, is called a *pada*, if it possesses a sense which is distinctly conveyed by it. Accordingly, a compound word, possessing a compound sense is a *pada*. So also, the members of a compound word are separate *padas* carrying their independent senses. Similarly, Taddhita words are *padas* and the Taddhita affixes therein, are also *padas*, provided they are distinctly noticed as units separate from their bases. Case-affixes also are separate *padas* if they can be noticed as distinctly separate from their base.[2]

२. चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च[3] ।

The four kinds of *padas*, given by ancient grammarians are : nouns, verbs, prepositions and indeclinables. In the system of Pāṇini there are only two parts of speech : *Subanta*

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[1] Cf. अर्थः पदमिति ऐन्द्रे (भाष्य of उपमन्यु on नन्दिकेश्वरकाशिका).

[2] Cf. सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । नः क्ये । सिति च । स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने । यचि भम् । तसौ मत्वर्थे । अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि (P. I. 4. 14–20). Words ending in case-affixes and conjugational affixes are designated *padas* ; so also bases ending in न् before क्यच् and क्यङ् affixes as also before affixes marked with the mute letter स् and before case affixes excepting the Nom. sing. affix सु and affixes beginning with a vowel or the consonant य्. As the Taddhita affixes are applied to nouns ending in case affixes, naturally those nouns, are called *pada* before an affix not beginning with any vowel or consonant य्. The purpose of the designation पद to noun-bases is to observe a pause after them in the Padapātha.

[3] Cf. तद्यान्येतानि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च तानीमानि भवन्ति (*Nir.* I. 1).

and *Tiṅanta*.[1] Prepositions and indeclinables are included in the *Subanta* category.

३. तानि द्विविधानि केवलानि समस्तानि च ।

Each of these categories is again two-fold : Single and Compounded. Single words are अग्निम् , ईळे, इह, अत्र, प्र, परा and the like. The word समस्त means connected together and having one acute accent.

४. तन्नाम येनाभिदधाति सत्त्वम् ।

Noun is that which denotes an object, which has come into existence. Yāska has defined the word नामन् or noun in a similar way in the expression सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि.[2] The words अग्निम्, यज्ञस्य, देवम् and others are nouns. Nouns include pronouns. The word noun stands for all declinables.

५. तदाख्यातं येन भावं स धातुः ।

The words आख्यात and धातु are both defined here. That is a verb which shows an activity. Yāska has given the same idea in भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्.[2] Patañjali has given भाव, भावना and क्रिय as synonyms. With the words सः and धातुः at the end, the line तन्नाम येनाभिदधाति सत्त्वं तदाख्यातं येन भावं स धातुः is given as a quotation from some ancient work on grammar by commentators. The word आख्यात means a verb like भवति, अस्ति, वर्धते and the like, while the word धातु means a root like भू, अस्, वृध् and the like. In ancient dictionaries like the Nighaṇṭu, lists of verbs such as वर्तते, अयते, आनशे, अश्नुते and others are given and not those of roots like वृत्, अय्, अश् and others. The words स धातुः stand for स भाव एव धातुः meaning that the activity itself, i. e. the exponent of the activity, is the *dhātu* or the root.

६. क्रियाविशेषवाचिन उपसर्गाः ।

Words showing the specific features of the activity expressed by a root are given the name उपसर्ग or preposition.[3]

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[1] As *upasargas* and *nipātas* are designated प्रातिपदिक by the rule अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् (P. I. 2. 45), suitable case affixes are applied to them, and when they end with case-affixes they are called सुबन्तपद.

[2] Cf. तत्रैवं नामाख्यातयोर्लक्षणं प्रदिशन्ति—भावप्रधानमाख्यातम् , सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि (*Nir.* I. 1).

[3] Cf. उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे (P. I. 4. 59).

These prepositions generally precede immediately the verb or the noun derived from a root, qualifying the activity expressed by them; but in Vedic usage, they are sometimes seen in the same sentence, but intervened by one or more words. If they immediately precede a verb which has retained its accents they form a compound with the verb.

७. उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्तः पदान्तरसंबद्धत्वेनार्थप्रतिपादका निपाताः।

Nipātas have various senses, but, they are shown by those *nipātas* when they are used along with other words such as nouns or verbs in a sentence. Some of them are sometimes used without any specific sense when they are called *padapūraṇas* or expletives.[1] Both prepositions and *nipātas* have got no case-affix or feminine affix applied to them and hence, they are not declinable. In Pāṇini's grammar, however, case-affixes as also feminine affixes are applied to them, but they are deleted. By virtue of the application of case affixes they are included in the *Subanta* category.[2]

८. विभक्तिस्त्रीकरणप्रत्ययान्तानां पदानां प्रत्ययराहित्येन प्रतिपदं दृश्यमानं रूपं प्रातिपदिकम्।

Prātipadika or noun-base is that word which is noticed in all the different forms of that word prepared by the addition of the several *vibhakti* affixes as also by the feminine affix, when and if applied. For example, see the words इन्द्र, अग्नि, देव, हरि, अश्व etc.

९. आख्यातकरणप्रत्ययरहितं मूलस्वरूपं धातुः।

धातु or root is the original form of the several verb and verbal derivatives which is noticed as common after the removal of the conjugational, verb-making and noun-making affixes applied for the formation of verbs, secondary roots and verbal derivaties. See for example भू and गम् appearing common in भवति, अभूत्, भावयति, बुभूषति, भूतिः, etc. and in गच्छति अगमत्, गन्तुम्, जिगमिषति, गमनम्, जग्मिवान् etc. respectively.

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[1] Cf. अथ निपाताः। उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्ति। अप्युपमार्थे। अपि कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थे अपि पदपूरणाः (*Nir*. I. 4).

[2] See note 1 on p. 2.

१०. नान्तानि नामानि, अस्थ्यादीनि पाद्दन्तादीनि च द्विप्रकृतीनि ।

Nouns ending in न्, nouns अस्थि, दधि and others, as also पाद, दन्त and others have got two noun-bases,[1] for example आत्मन्, राजन् etc. have आत्म, राज etc. as additional noun bases. Similarly, अस्थि has अस्थन्, दधि has दधन्, पाद has पद्, दन्त has got दत् and so on.

११. अस्तियजादिधातवोऽपि तथैव ।

Roots अस्, यज् and others are also possessed of two root-bases. For example the root अस् has got स् as an additional root-base which is noticed in स्तः, सन्ति and other forms of that kind.[2] So also यज् is the root in यजति, यज्ञ, यजमान, यष्टुं and the like, while इज् as an additional root-base is noticed in ईजे, इज्या, इष्टिः, ऋत्विक् etc.[3]

Section II

(Dissertation on *Vṛtti*)

द्वितीयः खण्डः (वृत्तिचर्चा)

१२. परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिः[4] ।

Compact expression or *vṛtti* is the denotation of a sense which is somewhat different from the literal sense of the component words. Brevity of speech is the purpose of such a brief expression.

१३. कृत्तद्धितसमासैकशेषप्रत्ययान्तधातुद्विर्वचनाङ्कचङ्क्रावाख्यात-समासरूपास्ता अष्ट ।

There are eight kinds of *vṛttis* or short expressions : *kṛt* or verbal derivatives, *taddhita* or noun-derivatives, compound-

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1 Cf. तद्यत्र स्वरादनन्तरान्तस्थान्तर्धातु भवति तद् द्विप्रकृतीनां स्थानमिति प्रदिशन्ति । तत्र सिद्धायामनुपपद्यमानायामितरयोपपिपादयिषेत् । तत्राप्येके अल्पनिष्पत्तयो भवन्ति । तद्यथैतत् – ऊतिः, मृदुः, पृथुः, पृषतः, कुणारुम् इति । (*Nir.* II. 2).

2 Cf. अथाप्यस्तेर्निवृत्तिस्थानेषु आदिलोपो भवति । स्तः सन्तीति । (*Nir.* II. 1).

3 See note 1 above.

4 Cf. परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिः । कृत्तद्धितसमासैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपाः पञ्च वृत्तयः । वृत्त्यर्थविबोधकं वाक्यं विग्रहः । (*Siddhāntakaumudī* at the end of the Ekaśeṣa prakaraṇa).

ed words, remnant of a compounded word, affix-ending roots, doubled words, compound with a verb, and lastly linking up of a word with another. The first five of these are mentioned by Bhaṭṭojī Dīksita. The word सनाद्यन्तधातु[1] is used by Bhṭṭojī instead of प्रत्ययान्तधातु.[1] द्विर्वचन, अङ्गवद्भाव and आख्यातसमास have got the same features as the generally mentioned five *vṛttis* have, and hence, they can be looked upon as *vṛttis.*

१४. धातोर्नामकरणयोगे कृद्वृत्तिः।

Kṛdvṛtti is the formation of a noun or indeclinable from a root by the application of an affix. The affix applied, is called नामकरण as it is joined to a root to form a noun from it. In Pāṇini's grammar, the name कृत् (maker of a noun) is given to the affixes like अ, ति, अन्, तुम् etc. Ancient grammarians gave the name कृत् to the words formed from roots such as the word *kṛt* itself, which means a maker (करोतीति कृत्). The framers of the Padapāṭha do not show the component parts of *kṛt* words separately by a pause or *avagraha*, possibly because the root or *dhātu* therein could not be shown as possessing a fixed form. Only in the case of perfect participle, a pause is observed between the reduplicated form of a root and the affix वस्.

१५. नाम्नो नामकरणयोगे तद्धितवृत्तिः।

तद्धितवृत्ति is the formation of a noun from another noun in some specific senses such as beneficial to (हित), offspring, possessed of, student of, born in, nature of, and a number of similar ones by applying a stated or specific affix. This affix, if beginning with a consonant except य्, is detachable from the base in the Padapāṭha. In some cases a *taddhita* affix like तर, तम etc. is applied to a word which itself is formed with a *taddhita* affix. Such *taddhita* words are termed *taddhita* words with two joints (द्विपर्वाणस्तद्धिताः).[2]

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[1] See note 4 on p. 5.

[2] Cf. एवं तद्धितसमासेष्वेकपर्वसु चानेकपर्वसु च पूर्वं पूर्वमपरमपरं प्रविभज्य निर्ब्रूयात् (*Nir.* II. 2).

१६. पदयोरेकार्थीभावेन संहितत्वं समासः ।

समास or compound is the combination of two words in a joint sense.[1] These compounds have four subdivisions with prominence of sense as criterion.[2] The compound called **अव्ययीभाव** has the first word predominant e. g. **यथापूर्वम्**; the compound called **तत्पुरुष** has the sense of the second member as predominant. It has got three main subdivisions **कर्मधारय**, **द्विगु** and **विभक्तितत्पुरुष**, the last having subdivisions such as **द्वितीयातत्पुरुष**, **तृतीयातत्पुरुष** and so on. Tatpurusa compounds with a verbal derivative as the second member, are in general called **कृदन्ततत्पुरुष** with three subdivisions: **गतितत्पुरुष**, **कारकतत्पुरुष** and **उपपदतत्पुरुष**.[3] In a Tatpurusa compound the accent is on the final vowel as a general rule.[4] In the Kṛdanta Tatpurusa, the second syllable retains its accent.[5] In the Nañ-Tatpurusa, the accent remains on the vowel *a* or *an* which is substituted for *na*.[6] In some cases the accent remains on the first syllable when it has got special importance which has to be shown by an emphasis upon it. In rare cases of words such as **वनस्पति**, **बृहस्पति** and others, both the words retain their accent.[7] The compound **द्वन्द्व** has the sense of both words as predominant. There are Dvandva compounds of two words in Vedic Literature where the accent is found generally on the last syllable. In the Devatā dvandva compounds, both the words retain their accent.[8] The Bahuvrīhi compound has the sense of both the words subordinated to the sense of a third word connected in sense by the relation of possession with the two or more members of the

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1 For details see *Mahābhāṣya* II. 1. 1, Vārt. 1.

2 For details see *Mahābhāṣya* II. 1. 6.

3 For details see कुगतिप्रादयः and उपपदमतिङ् (P. II. 2. 18, 19) and the *Mahābhāṣya* thereon.

4 See समासस्य (P. VI. 1. 223).

5 See गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत् (P. VI. 2. 139).

6 See तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः (P. VI. 2. 2) and the Vārttika अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानाम् thereon (P. VI. 2. 2, Vārt. 3).

7 See उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् (P. VI. 2. 140).

8 See देवताद्वन्द्वे च (VI. 2. 141).

compound. The accent falls on the first member except in cases where the second member has some special importance of its sense.[1]

१७. समस्तपदयोरेकस्यैव प्रयोग एकशेषः ।

When the sense of a Dvandva compound of two words in the dual number is possible to be known by the use of one of the two words on the strength of the dual number of the affix placed after it, one of the two words is dropped and the remaining word in the dual number is termed as Ekaśesa.[2] The origin of this Ekaśesa vṛtti can be traced to the Vedic Dvandva compounds of two words such as द्यावाभूमी, द्यावापृथिवी, द्यावाक्षामा where, on occasions, one of the two words is seen used to denote the sense of both the words, e. g. द्यावा in *Ṛgveda* I. 61.10, 64.1, 113.9 etc. पृथिवी in I. 63.1, 141.1, पितरा in I.20.4, 110.8, 159.2 etc., पितरौ in 121.5, 161.10, X. 85.14 etc. The question as to how one single word could denote the sense of two words was technically solved by the theory of each one of the two words in a Dvandva compound, closely related in sense being capable of denoting the sense of both, advocated by the Vārttikakāra on the sūtras of Pānini, under the name युगपदधिकरणवचनता.[3]

१८. प्रत्यययोगेन धातोः पुनर्धात्वापादनं, नाम्नो वा धात्वापादनं प्रत्ययान्तधातुवृत्तिः ।

The formation of a root from a noun or from a root by the application of an affix is called प्रत्ययान्तधातुवृत्ति. The sense of a noun and a root, or the sense of two roots is conveyed by this secondary root which ends with an affix. Several kinds of such roots by the application of different affixes such as णिच्, क्यच्, यङ् and others, are given by Pāṇini,[4] almost all of which are found in Vedic Literature.

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[1] See बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् (P. VI. 2.1) as also Sūtras VI. 2. 106–119.

[2] For details see Pāṇini sūtras, I. 2, 64 to 73.

[3] The theory of युगपदधिकरणवचनता propounded by the Vārttikakāra is examined in detail by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* and finally disapproved in the words "इयं युगपदधिकरणवचनता नाम दुःखा च दुरुपपादा च । For details see *Mahābhāṣya* on II. 2. 29 Vārttikas 2 to 15.

[4] See Pāṇini sūtras III. 1. 7 to 28.

१९. नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातानामव्यवधानेन द्विरुच्चारणं द्विर्वचनवृत्तिः ।

The repetition of the same word to convey some specific sense such as frequency, repetition and the like, is termed द्विर्वचनवृत्ति. Grammarians like Bhaṭṭojī Dīksita have stated only five of the above mentioned eight *vṛttis*, viz. Kṛt, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ekaśesa and Pratyayāntadhātu ;[1] still, as the repetition of a word has the same main features as a *vṛtti* viz. possession of one combined sense and one acute accent, repetition of a word can also be called *vṛtti*. The Padakāras show the two components of the Dvirvacana-vṛtti by the sign of *avagraha* between them; and in the recital, they are shown separately by a short pause between them.[2]

२०. नाम्नो नामान्तरेण दृढसंबद्धार्थत्वमङ्गवद्भाववृत्तिः ।

The use of a noun in the vocative case with another noun closely connected in sense with it, used immediately before it or after it, with one acute accent in both the words together, is named अङ्गवद्भाववृत्ति. This compact expression is said to be of two kinds :—पूर्वाङ्गवद्भाव and पराङ्गवद्भाव. The Padakāras recite both the words as distinct words but very closely connected, and do not observe a short pause or *avagraha* between them.[3]

२१. नाम्न आख्यातेन सह समास आख्यातसमासवृत्तिः ।

Nouns are compounded with nouns which are verbal derivatives, but they are never compounded with verbs. When,

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[1] See note 4 on p. 5.

[2] Cf. अग्निम्ऽअग्निम् (*ṚV.* I. 12. 2), दिवेऽदिवे (*ṚV.* I. 1. 3, 7), अङ्गात्ऽअङ्गात् (*ṚV.* X. 163. 6) and good many others.

[3] For details see *Mahābhāṣya* on सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत् स्वरे (P. II. 1. 2.) and परमपि च्छन्दसि (II. 1. 2, Vārt. 6). For instances see ब्रह्मणस्पते (Padapāṭha ब्रह्मणः । पते); पुत्र सहसः Padapātha (पुत्र । सहसः) and the like.

however, a prefix or a noun closely connected with a verb forms a composite expression with it, conveying a composite sense, the noun or the prefix and the verb together, are called नामाख्यातवृत्ति. The Padakāras appear to have looked upon this use of the noun and verb together, as forming a kind of compound, and they recite these words in the *pada* recital with a short pause or *avagraha* between the two Pāṇini's rules, if strictly followed, prohibit any compound with a verbal form.[1] The Padakāras, however, appear to have recognised such a compound as indicated by the use of *avagraha* between a preposition and the verb following it, which retains its accent. Patañjali has given his approval for compounds with verbs.[2]

२२. वृत्त्यर्थावबोधकानां पदानां पृथगवस्थानं विग्रहः ।

Vigraha or dissolution of a *vṛtti* or compact expression is the distinct mention of its constituent parts by the removal of the euphonic combinations or changes which have taken place in the Saṁhitā recital.[3] This *vigraha* is shown by reciting the crude base of the first word and after a short pause by reciting the next word along with the case affix which is put after it, as for instance पुरःऽहितम्, रत्नऽधातमम् etc.

२३. स च द्विविधः स्वपदैरन्यपदैर्वा ।

This dissolution is of two kinds (1) dissolution shown by the constituent words and (2) dissolution shown by other words. The Padakāras recognise only the first kind. This dissolution is shown when the constituent parts are possible to be shown as distinctly apart and capable of denoting distinctly their individual separate senses. Hence, there can be no *vigraha* in compounds which are used as proper nouns such as Viśvāmitra, Bṛhaspati and others. No *vigraha* is evidently possible in the Ekaśeṣa vṛtti, as, out of the two

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[1] Pāṇini's sūtra उपपदमतिङ् (II. 2. 19) prohibits in clear terms any compound with a verbal form.

[2] See उदात्तवता तिङा गतिमता चाव्ययं समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् । अनुव्यचलत् । अनुप्राविशत् । यत्परिऽयन्ति *Mahābhāṣya* on P. II. 2. 18, Vārttika 4.

[3] See note 1 on p. 5.

words joined together in sense, one is actually omitted. The problem of one word carrying a combined sense of two words is solved by following the doctrine of युगपदधिकरणवचनता or the simultaneous denotation of two senses of two words by one of the two words.[1] This dissolution is shown by the Padakāras by means of observing a short pause in the recital in the case of the Samāsa, the Ākhyātasamāsa and the Dvirvacana vṛttis where two *padas* constitute the *vṛtti*. In other cases such as Kṛt, Taddhita and Pratyayāntadhātu, *vṛttis* which have an affix or *pratyaya* as one of the constituents, the dissolution is shown in such cases only, where the affix or the base before it, has got no change or has such changes as are due to mere juxtaposition or consideration of metre or rhythm. No separation is shown when the change is a drastic one, such as the omission of a letter or more, or the substitution of one letter for another such as ष् for स् or स् for *visarga* and similar ones.

२४. वृत्तिपदविभाजकानि पर्वाणि ।

पर्वन् is the name given to the break or the division of the constituent parts of a *vṛtti* possessing a unit of the constituent sense. Generally in a *vṛtti*, as there are two constituent parts, there is one break or *parvan*. But, in a few cases there are three constituent parts, made up of one base and two affixes such as वीरवत्तम, वसुमत्तर and others, or two basic words and one affix such as चित्रश्रवस्तम, अविदुष्टर and others.

२५. कृत्तद्धितसमासा एकपर्वाणो द्विपर्वाणो वा ।

The Kṛdvṛtti, the Samāsavṛtti and the Taddhitavṛtti are capable of having one break or in few cases two breaks or in very rare cases even three or more breaks as in अदब्धव्रतप्रमतिः, अनभिम्लातवर्णः, मिथोवद्यपेभिः, वीरवत्तमम् and others. It is, however, to be noted, that although in a compound vṛtti there are two or more breaks, the Padakāras observe only one pause or

[1] See note 3 on p. 8.

अवग्रह[1] as for instance in अर्दब्धव्रतऽप्रमतिः, अनभिम्लातऽवर्णः, मिथः ऽअवद्यपेभिः, वीरवत्ऽतमम्.

२६. नाम्नोऽनन्तरं धातोर्वाऽनन्तरं प्रत्येति स प्रत्ययः ।

Affix is that which is added to a noun-base or to a root for conveying an additional sense which is required for different purposes such as the formation of a noun from a root or *vice versa*, or for conveying a related sense, or for showing relationship with other words.

२७. नामकरणधातुकरणविभक्तिस्वार्थिकभेदेन ते चतुर्विधाः ।

The affixes are of four kinds : Affixes applied to roots for the formation of nouns are called नामकरण affixes. The nouns so formed are named कृदन्त nouns. Those applied to nouns for the formation of other nouns, in the sense of offspring, quality, residence, possession and the like, are called *taddhita* affixes. Affixes applied to nouns, as also to roots, in the sense of some specific different activities or the same activities in different kinds, are named *dhātukaraṇa pratyayas*. Affixes applied to nouns as also to roots to show their relationship with other nouns or verbs in the sentence, are called *vibhaktipratyayas*.[2] Affixes applied generally to nouns, simple as well as compounded, without any specific sense, are called *svārthikapratyayas*. For technical purposes they are said to express the same sense as the base to which they are applied.[3]

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[1] Cf. बहुप्रकृतावागन्तुना पर्वणा (वा. प्रा. अ. ५ सू. ७)॥ बहूनि पदानि यत्र तत् बहुप्रकृतिकम्, तत्र आगन्तुना पर्वणा समासलक्षणेन यत् पश्चात्कालिकं पदं भवति तेन अवग्रहः कर्तव्यः । प्रजापतिरिति प्रजाऽपतिः । प्रजापतिगृहीतयेति प्रजापतिऽगृहीतया । (*Vaj. Prat.* V. 7). The term अवग्रह is explained as अवगृह्यते यः सः अवग्रहः । Accordingly अवग्रह is that part which is held back by a pause. The word, by Lakṣaṇā, is used in the sense of the pause itself which occurs between the two parts of a word.

[2] Cf. विभक्तिश्च (P. I. 4. 103) which defines the term विभक्ति as applicable to case affixes as also to conjugational affixes.

[3] Cf. स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतितो नातिवर्तन्ते (*Vyāḍiparibhāṣāpātha* 74).

२८. विभक्तिप्रत्ययान्तानामेव नाम्नामाख्यातानां च वाक्ये प्रयोगः ।

Nouns, including prefixes and indeclinables, as also roots including secondary roots are always to be used with suitable *vibhaktipratyayas.*[1] Prefixes such as प्र, परा and indeclinables such as यथा, च, इव, and others have, in fact, no *vibhakti pratyaya* applied to them ; hence, they are given the name *avyaya* meaning not allowing any loss or addition for expressing the idea of gender or syntactical relation.[2] For technical purposes, however, according to Pāṇini's grammar, the affixes that are necessary, are placed after them, but they are elided.

Section III

(Dissertation on pause)

तृतीयः खण्डः (अवग्रहचर्चा)

२९. पदपाठे पर्वणि कृत ईषद्विरामोवग्रहः ।

A small stop in the recital of the Padapāṭha at the end of a break or *parvan* is called *avagraha.*[3] This *avagraha* in the old handwritten works, and now in printed editions of the Padapāṭha is marked (ऽ) just like the *avagraha* mark (ऽ) in the texts of classical works at places where the vowel *e* or *o* combines with the following vowel अ, although it has nothing to do with that coalescence stated in Pāṇini's rule एङः पदान्तादति (VI. 1.109). In some copies it is marked by a samll dash (–).

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[1] Cf. न केवला विभक्तिः प्रयोक्तव्या न केवलः प्रत्ययः (*Mahābhāṣya* I. 2. 64 Vārt. 5).

[2] Cf. सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥ (*Kāśikā* on P. I. 1. 37).

[3] Cf. The term अवग्रह, as defined here, means a small pause taking the time of one *mātrā*, which is generally observed by the reciters of the Padapāṭha, who, when showing apart the two members of a compound word, stop at the end of the first member. Cf. समासेऽवग्रहो ह्रस्वसमकालः (*Vāj. Prāt.* V. 1). It is also defined as द्वयोः पदयोः पृथग् ग्रहणमवग्रहः (Uvata's com. on *Vāj. Prāt.* V. 1). Sometimes the term is used for the first member of a compound word, as in संहितावदवग्रहः परविधौ (*Vāj. Prāt.* I. 148).

३०. वृत्तिविग्रहे पदविभागयोरर्थविभागयोश्च स्पष्टप्रतिपत्तिश्चेत्तर्ह्येवावग्रहः ।

In showing the subdivisions of a word representing a *vrtti*, *avagraha* should be given between two subdivisions provided their wording and sense are clearly and distinctly made out. If the end of the first part or the beginning of the second part is mutilated otherwise than by rules of euphonic combinations, the *avagraha* is not given.

३१. स चैकस्मिन्पदे सकृदेव कार्यः, न पर्वणि पर्वणि ।

This *avagraha* should be observed only once, and not in each break if there are two or more breaks in a word. In a compound of three words the *avagraha* is given at the end of the second word.[1] In a Taddhitavrtti where two different *taddhita* affixes are added to a word, or a *taddhita* affix is added to a compound word, the *avagraha* is given at the end of two components Similarly, if a detachable case affix is added to a compound word or a *taddhita* word, the *avagraha* is given before the detachable case-affix भ्याम्, भिस् or सु.[2]

३२. कृद्वृत्तौ द्वयोः खण्डयोः पृथक्त्वेनार्थानवधारणान्नावग्रहः ।

There is no *avrgraha* given between the two parts of Krdanta words or verbal derivatives, as the sense of the two parts cannot be separately distinguished. For example, in याजकः, यष्टा, दात्र, and others the activity is shown as vested in the agent or in the instrument or in the abode, the agents or the instruments or the abodes of activities are not shown as separate from the activities.

३३. कसुप्रत्ययेऽवग्रहः ।

The *krt* affix वस् (क्वसु) is looked upon as possessor of an activity, shown separately by the preceding redupli-

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[1] Cf. बहुप्रकृतावागन्तुना पर्वणा (*Vāj. Prāt.* V. 7) explained by Uvata as बहूनि पदानि यत्र तद् बहुप्रकृति पदम् । तत्र आगन्तुना पर्वणा समासलक्षणेन यत् पश्चात्कालिकं पदं भवति तेन अवग्रहो भवति । यथा प्रजापतिरिति प्रजा-पतिः । प्रजापतिगृहीतयेति प्रजापति-गृहीतया ।

[2] Cf. ह्रस्वव्यञ्जनाभ्यां मकारादौ विभक्तिप्रत्यये । स्विति चानतौ । (*Vāj. Prāt.* V. 13, 14).

cated root form and if the root ends in a short vowel, and the affix वस् has not undergone any mutilation, the affix is shown as separated from the root form by *avagraha*[1] as for example, पपिऽवान्, चकृऽवान्, शुश्रुऽवान्, ईयिऽवांसम्, तस्थिऽवान्, ओकिऽवांसम्, दीदिऽवांसम्, ससृऽवांसम्, ससऽवांसम् तुस्तुऽवांसम्, but not in चिकित्वान्, विविद्वान्, जग्मिवान्, जिगीवान्, जगन्वान्, ईयुषीणाम् etc.

३४. तद्धितवृत्तौ प्रातिपदिकं तान्तं सान्तं न चेत्, प्रत्ययश्च स्वरयकारादिर्न चेत्।

In a *Taddhitavṛtti*, the base and the affix are shown as separate units in wording as well as in sense, and the affix is shown separate by *avagraha* in the Pada-recital. However, if the noun-base ends in the consonant त् or स्, and the affix is in the sense of possession such as मत्, वत्, विन् or the like, the *avagraha* should not be observed so also if the *tad.* affix begins with a vowel or with the consonant य्, the *avagraha* is not observed as the noun-base before such affixes is generally mutilated.

३५. समासविग्रहे पदयोर्मध्येऽवग्रहः पदपाठे।

In the recital of the Padapāṭha, the two members of the compound are shown separate by an *avagraha*. If the final letter of the first member or the initial letter of the first member is affected by rules of euphonic combination, the original form is to be cited in the Padapāṭha. If the base of the first member ending in the consonant न् has got न् dropped in the compound form, then before the *avagraha*, the base has to be recited without the letter न्. If the first member ending in स् has got the letter changed into *visarga* or into the vowel ओ, the *visarga* is to be shown before the *avagraha*.

३६. नञ्समासे पूर्वपदस्य विकृतत्वाद्भागयोश्च पृथगर्थानवधारणान्नावग्रहः।

In the case of the negative Tatpurusa and negative Bahuvrīhi compounds there is no *avagraha* given in the Pada recital

[1] Cf. वॅासौ च भूतकाले स्वरेण ह्रस्वादनुपि (*Vāj. Prat.* V. 11) explained by Uvaṭa as वासौ च प्रत्यये परभूतेऽवग्रहो भवति भूतकालार्थाभिधायिनि स्वरेण ह्रस्वात् परभूते स्वरेण वा ह्रस्वे नोप इति।

after the first member,[1] e g अजरः (I 58 2), अजातान् (V 15.2), अभयम् (II. 27 11), अनन्तान् (VII. 104. 17), अनपत्यानि (III. 54. 18). The likely reason for not giving the *avagraha* is that in compounds with the negative particle न, no separate senses of negation and the object negated are available there, but one single sense of 'an object other than the negated one' is available from the compound. The particle न in compounds has the sense of *paryudāsa* and not that of *pratiṣedha*. The form of *na*, besides, is not preserved in the compound, *na* being changed into *a* or *an*, but even though the form of *na* is preserved in the compound words नभ्राट्, नासत्या, नक्षत्र and others, still there is no *avagraha* given in their recital

३७. देवताद्वन्द्वे तणि[2] च नावग्रहः ।

The *avagraha* is not given in the recital of the Padapātha after the first member when the words denoting deities are put together in a Dvandva compound, e. g इन्द्राग्नी, मित्रावरुणौ. So also there is no *avagraha* given after the first member in compounds which are proper nouns or which have got the restricted sense of 'designation' (संज्ञा) In Dvandva compounds of deities, there is no individually separate sense conveyed by each of the two words, the two senses being looked upon as a compounded deity. In cases of compounds denoting a designation, there are no two separate senses conveyed by the two words but the sense of the compound is one single individual. For example in विश्वामित्र there is no individually separate sense given by विश्व or मित्र.

३८. संघातार्थेऽपि द्वन्द्वे नावग्रहः ।

There is no *avagraha* given in such Dvandva compounds as denote a group sense e. g. अजावयः (X. 90. 10), सत्यानृते इति (VII. 49.3).

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[1] Cf. प्रतिषेधे नावग्रहः । उत्तरेण चाकारेण । यथा—अरक्षसा, अनिराः, अनाततनाय, अनाधृष्यः । (*Vāj. Prāt.* V. 24-25).

[2] The word तणि was used by ancient grammarians in the sense of संज्ञा and छन्दस्. Cf. बहुलं तणीति वक्तव्यम् । किमिदं तणीति । संज्ञाछन्दसोर्ग्रहणम् । (*Mahābhāṣya* II. 4. 54, Vārt 11).

[3] Cf. द्वन्द्वानि द्विवचनान्तानि स्वरान्तपूर्वपदानि ([illegible] *Prāt.* V. 28).

३९. विभक्तिप्रत्ययेषु प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोरविकृतत्वे सत्येवावग्रहः ।

The *vibhakti* affixes applied to noun-bases are looked upon as conveying a separate sense and they are hence looked upon as forming a kind of *vṛtti* giving room for *avagraha* after the base. The *avagraha* is given only when the affixes and the base are clearly distinguishable, the affix having a consonant without य् at the beginning, and the base ending in a consonant or a short vowel (प्रकृतिः स्वरान्ता चेद् ह्रस्वस्वरान्तायाः एव प्रकृतेरनन्तरमवग्रहः । वसौ क्यचि च एवमेत्र प्रकृतेः ह्रस्वस्वरान्तायाः). Short vowels अ, इ, उ and ऋ were termed संवृत by ancient grammarians[1] and naturally there resulted a very short stop after their utterance in the articulate speech, e. g. अक्षऽभिः, अजमऽभिः, मन्मऽभिः, ऋक्वऽभिः, अद्रिऽभिः, अविऽभिः, रातिऽभिः, मतिऽभिः, द्युऽभिः, अक्तुऽभिः, पितृऽभिः, अत्ऽभ्यः, उक्षत्ऽभिः, मरुत्ऽभिः, वीळुमत्ऽभिः, गीःऽभिः, नमःऽभिः, अङ्गिरःऽभिः etc. But there is no *avagraha* given in the Padapāṭha of मात्राभिः, पूर्वाभिः, होत्राभिः, आयसीभिः, रात्रीभिः, प्रऽजाभिः, नदीभिः, धीभिः, तेभिः, गोभिः, देवेभ्यः and others. Similarly there is an अवग्रह in अप्ऽसु, पृत्ऽसु, शीर्षऽसु etc. but not in मासु, अन्यासु, प्रऽजासु, नदीषु, गीर्षु, गोषु, ओषधीषु and others.

४०. अञ्चिसह्योः क्विबन्त उत्तरपदे गोपादिषु च नावग्रहः ।

Avagraha is not given in the Padapāṭha in the case of compounds with verbal nouns from the roots अञ्च् and सह्[2] with the affix क्विन् added to them as also in the case of compounds like गोपा. In the case of these words, the compounds are not dissolved at all in the Padapāṭha; the words being recited just as in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, e. g. अनूचः । अनूची इति । घृताचीं । देवद्रीचा । अस्मत्राञ्चः । सध्र्यञ्चः । अर्वाचीनाः । अपीच्येन । प्राञ्चः । प्रतीचीं । also गोपा (VII. 91.2), गोपाः (I. 22.18) विश्पतिः । मातरिश्वा ।

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[1] Bhartṛhari in his *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* has quoted the axiom ह्रस्वाः संवृताः from some ancient work. The vowel अ is said to be संवृत as used in the spoken language. See अ अ इति (P. VIII. 4. 68) and the *Mahābhāṣya* thereon.

[2] Cf. अञ्चतिसहत्योः कुल्लोपे (*Vāj. Prāt.* V. 30).

ऋत्विजम् । आघृणि । नराशंसम्. It is likely that these words were looked upon as *rūḍha* words or proper nouns allowing no derivation. Mark however, that the words जमदग्नि, जातवेदस् and the like are dissolved in the Padapāṭha although they are proper names. जमत्ऽअग्निना । जातऽवेदसम् । जातऽवेदः ।

४१. एकशेषवृत्तौ न विग्रहो न वाऽवग्रहः ।

In the Ekaśesavrtti although there is a mention of two separate objects as in the Dvandva compound, still, as there is only one unit in wording , no division is possible and evidently the question of *avagraha* does not occur, e. g. द्यावा, क्षामा, पृथिवी, पितरौ, मातरौ (X 115.1) and others. Sometimes both the words, out of which one is used to denote both, are found used forming a compound like the Devatādvandva, e. g. द्यावापृथिवी, द्यावाभूमी, मातरापितरा (IV. 6.7). Here no *avagraha* is observed between the two words which preserve their own accent. In several places quite a different word is noticed between the two, e. g. प्र द्यावा शोचिः पृथिवी अरोचयत् (I. 143.2) or प्र द्यावा यज्ञैः पृथिवी ऋतावृधा (I. 159.1) or द्यावा रक्षतं पृथिवी नो अभ्वात् (I. 185. 2–8). It is to be noted that these passages are not quoted by commentators as instances of अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता just as शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितम् (V. 2.7), नरा वा शंसं पूषणम् (X. 64.3) and नरा च शंसं दैव्यम् (IX. 86. 42) are quoted,[1] nor the two words द्यावा and पृथिवी are taken together and joined in the Padapāṭha as शुनःऽशेपम् । चित् । and नराशंसम् । च ।

४२. प्रत्ययान्तधातुवृत्तौ नाम्नोनन्तरं धातुकरणे तदुत्तरं च नामकरणश्चेत् ।

Secondary roots are derived generally from primary roots by the application of root-making (धातुकरण) affixes such as णिच्, सन्, यङ् and others. They are also derived from

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[1] Cf. विलोमे पदवत् संधिरनानुपूर्व्यसंहिते (*Vikrtivalli* 9); also शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं, नरा वा शंसं पूषणम् । नरा च शंसं दैव्यं ता अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिताः (*Ṛk Prāt.* II. 43).

nouns by the addition of the root making affixes क्यच्, क्यङ्, णिङ्, णिच्, क्यष्, काम्यच् and others. When the nāmakaraṇa affix उ or अत्[1] is added to a denominative root ending in य, and when the noun before the affix य has not undergone any mutilation, there arises a possibility of making two clear divisions of such nouns ending in उ or अत् and observing a pause (अवग्रह) between them, e. g. त्वाऽयवः, अश्वऽयुः, वाजऽयुः, ऋतऽयतः, देवऽयन्तः.[2] Pāṇini has given the *taddhita* यु to be placed after the nouns अहम् and शुभ for the formation of the words अहंयुः and शुभंयुः.[3] These words are, however, formed by the addition of the affix उ to the denominative roots अहंय and शुभंय.

४३. द्विर्वचनवृत्तौ समासवदवग्रहः ।

Utterance of a word twice in juxtaposition occurs to convey the senses of frequency, emphasis and the like[4] and as the two words form one expression with one acute accent, they can be said to form a *vṛtti*. In fact, they are treated so by the Padakāras and *avagraha* is observed between them in the Padapāṭha ; e. g. दिवेऽदिवे (*ṚV.* I. 1.3, 7, I. 31.7, I. 34.7 etc.), यज्ञस्यऽयज्ञस्य (*ṚV.* X. 1.5), देवस्यऽदेवस्य (*ṚV.* X. 1.5, X. 136.4).

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[1] The affix उ is applied to denominative roots ending in क्यच् (य) in Vedic Literature by the rule क्याच्छन्दसि (P. III. 2. 170). अत् stands for the present participle affix शतृ of Pāṇini.

[2] Cf. त्वायवः शंयोर्बर्हिर्धास्मयुं मृण्मयीं सुम्नयाशुया साधुया धृष्णुया विशाल-मन्तुया । and मृगयुसुभयादतोऽपामार्गकिंपुरुषामिति च । (*Vāj. Prāt.* V. 20, 21) These two sūtras have quoted examples from the *Śuklayajurvedasaṁhitā* which are similar to the examples cited here.

[3] Cf. अहंशुभयोर्युस् (P. V. 2. 140), ऊर्णाया युस् (V. 2. 123) and कंशंभ्यां बभयुस्तितुतयसः (V. 2. 138). The mute letter स् affixed to the Taddhita termination यु, shows that the base before the affix यु, stated by these rules, has got the designation पद by the rule सिति च (P. I. 4. 16), and hence *avagraha* can be observed after the base.

[4] This *dvirvacana* is seen prescribed in Pāṇini's rules सर्वस्य द्वे and onwards (P. VIII. 1. 1 to 15),

४४. अङ्गवद्भाववृत्तौ केवलमेकस्वर्यं दृश्यते नावग्रहः ।

A pair of words, which is formed by a noun in the vocative case, and another one, preceding or following it being closely connected with it[1] can be termed *vrtti* by the presence of one acute accent in the two words, just as in the case of द्विर्वचनवृत्ति No *avagraha*, however, is observed between the two words, as the two units are looked upon as separate words with two separate senses, e g पुत्रं सहसः । (*RV.* I. 40.2, III 14 4 etc) ब्रह्मण· पते । (*RV* I 18 1, I. 40. 1 etc.)

४५. आख्यातसमासवृत्तौ समासवदवग्रहः ।

According to the grammar of Pānini, a verb is never compounded with a noun. The Padakāras, however, look upon those verbs which retain their accent on account of the presence of the conditional particles यदि, or that of the forms of the relative pronoun यत्, as compounded with the prepositions preceding them, and observe *avagraha* between them e. g. परिऽअभूषत् । अनुऽक्षरन्ति[2] etc.

Section IV

(Dissertation on accents)

चतुर्थः खण्डः (स्वरचर्चा)

४६. उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितप्रचयाः स्वराश्चत्वारः ।

In very ancient times when Sanskrit was a spoken language, excepting words of relatively very small importance which were left unaccented, every word in a sentence was uttered with an accent of the type of a stress on one syllable

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[1] This अङ्गवद्भाव is of two kinds : (1) पूर्वाङ्गवद्भाव and पराङ्गवद्भाव. The पराङ्गवद्भाव is prescribed by सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत् स्वरे (P. II. 1. 2) while the पूर्वाङ्गवद्भाव is prescribed by the Vārttika परमपि च्छन्दसि (Vārt. 6 on P. II. 1. 2). The instances given in the *Mahābhāsya* for the former are मूलके पिबमान, कुण्डेभ्यटन्, मद्राणां राजन् and others, while those for the latter are आ ते पितर्मरुतां सुम्नमेतु (*RV.* II. 33. 1), प्रति त्वा दुहितर्दिवः (*RV* VII. 81. 3

[2] The compound with a verb is categorically prohibited by the rule उपपदमतिङ् (P. II. 2. 19). Instances are, however, found in a large number in Vedic Literature where the Padapātha has shown a

(*Continued on the next page*)

in it, in conversations, addresses and dialogues. This stress accent was termed *udātta* or acute. Its definition is given alike as उच्चैरुदात्तः in the ancient Prātiśākhya works, which Pāṇini has picked up. The terms उदात्त and अनुदात्त are explained in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* as "आयामो दारुण्यमणुता खस्येत्युच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य । अन्ववसर्गो मार्दवमुरुता खस्येति नीचैः कराणि शब्दस्य" (तै. प्रा. २२।९–१०). The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* has quoted these lines and explained the words आयाम, दारुण्य and others. The explanation of the terms आयाम दारुण्य and अणुता (खस्य) given by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* well applies to the stress accent and confirms the statement made above, that in ancient times when Sanskrit was the universally spoken language and the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* were composed, the stress accent prevailed. Later on, when Sanskrit came to be spoken without any scrupulous care of the stress accentuation, an additional accent स्वरित was given to the vowel succeeding the *udātta* vowel with a view to preserving intact the text of the Veda. The Veda Saṁhitās came to be recited in three accents,[1] and rules of euphonic combinations were strictly observed as a further measure for the preservation. Later on, the Pada texts and thereafter the Krama texts were prepared, in which the accents of the Saṁhitā texts were kept intact. Strictly speaking, there were three accents[1] only, in which the Veda texts came

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

preposition separated from the following verbal form by means of a pause (*avagraha*). The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* has shown his approval for such compounds. Cf. (सहेति) योगविभागः करिष्यते । सह सुप् समस्यते । केन सह । समर्थेन । अनुव्यचलत् । अनुप्राविशत् । (*Mahābhāṣya* on P. II. 1. 4).

[1] In the Prātiśākhya works *svara* or accent is described to be of three kinds. Cf. उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च त्रयः स्वराः। (*Ṛk Prāt.* III. 1). The *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* also gives three kinds as stated in the Sūtra त्रीन् (I. 128) which is commented upon by Uvaṭa as उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितान् यजुर्वेदे त्रीन् स्वरानाहुः। The *Svara Lakṣaṇa* gives the उदात्त and अनुदात्त as the principal ones and looks upon *svarita* as subordinate. Cf. उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च द्वावेतौ प्रकृतिस्वरौ। स्वरितस्तु तयोर्योगे स च सप्तविधः स्मृतः ॥ (*Svara Lak.* I. 1).

to be recited, still, as in a single word, as also in a compound word only one vowel was accented as *udātta*, the vowel following that *udātta* as *svarita*, and the rest *anudātta*, the *anudātta* vowels after *svarita* came to be recited in a slightly different tone which was given the name *pracaya*.

४७. संहितास्वरा एव पदपाठेऽवतिष्ठन्ते ।

The four accents with which the Samhitā text is recited, remain unchanged in the Pada text, or the recital of separate *padas*. In joining and reciting several independent words together, some changes occurred in the last letter of a word and the first letter of the next word, and the accents were also changed, but, in the Pada recital, the separate *padas* were recited with their natural wording and accents e g. the Samhitā text अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् was recited in the Padapātha as अग्निम् । ईळे । पुरःऽहितम् .

४८. एकस्मिन्पदे एकस्यां वा वृत्तावेक एवोदात्तः । शेषा अनुदात्ताः ।

There is only one out of the several vowels in a *pada* or *vrtti*, that is recited as *udātta*, one following the *udātta* as *svarita*, and the rest *anudātta*, e. g.[1] अग्निः, इन्द्रः, सविता, यज्ञेन, पर्यभूषत .

४९. देवताद्वन्द्वेषु वनस्पत्यादिषु च युगपद् द्वावुदात्तौ ।

In the Dvandva samāsa of two words denoting deities used in any case except the vocative, as also in compounds like वनस्पति, each word retains its own *udātta* accent[2]

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[1] Cf. अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् (P. VI. 1. 158) and उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (P. VIII. 4. 66); also Cf. उदात्तपूर्वं स्वरितमनुदात्त पदेऽक्षरम् (*Rk Prāt.* III. 4); also Cf. उदात्ताचानुदात्तं स्वरितम् (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 137 as also subsequent rules upto IV. 143).

[2] Cf. देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI. 2. 141) and उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् । (P. VI. 2. 140). Cf. also देवताद्वन्द्वानि चानामन्त्रितानि (*Vāj. Prāt.* II 48). In the word इन्द्राबृहस्पती there are three vowels with the *udātta* accent.

If the compound word is in the vocative case, then the initial vowel alone is *udātta*,[1] e. g. मित्रावरुणा, द्यावापृथिवी, वनस्पतिः. For vocative forms see इन्द्रवायू, सोमापूषणा, मित्रावरुणा, मित्रराजाना, सोमारुद्रा which stand at the beginning of a verse foot. See also मित्रावरुणौ.

५०. संहितास्थानि सर्वानुदात्तपदानि पदपाठे तथैव पठ्यन्ते।

If words in the vocative case and verbs have all their vowels अनुदात्त, used as they are after another word, they are recited in the Padapāṭha as they are recited in the Saṁhitāpāṭha. The original accents of those words are not restored in the Padapāṭha, e. g. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् has अग्निम्। ईळे। पुरःऽहितम् as the Padapāṭha. So also अत्यतिष्ठद्दशाङ्गुलम् or अति। अतिष्ठत्। दशऽअङ्गुलम्.

५१. पदपाठे सावग्रहपदोच्चारणे उदात्तात्पूर्वे सर्वे स्वरा अनुदात्ताः पठ्यन्ते।

In the Padapāṭha, when a compound word is shown split up into two parts by *avagraha* between them, all the syllables preceding the *udātta* syllable, are recited as *anudātta* e. g. प्रतिऽक्षियन्तम् (II. 10.4) सहस्रऽशीर्षा। पुरुषः। सहस्रऽअक्षः। सहस्रऽपात्. (X. 90·1)

५२. उदात्तादनन्तरमेकः स्वरितस्तदनन्तरं च सर्वे प्रचयत्वेन पठ्यन्ते।

In the Padapāṭha, when a compound word is split up into its two constituent parts with *avagraha* observed between them, the syllable after the *udātta* vowel is recited as *svarita* and all the vowels thereafter in one tone, called प्रचय, e. g. दिवेऽदिवे (I. 3; 7 etc.) विशंऽविशम् (X. 91.2).

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[1] A noun in the vocative case has the first syllable *udātta* (P. VI. 1. 198). But when that noun in the vocative does not stand at the beginning of a sentence, or at the beginning of a foot of verse, it is सर्वानुदात्त i. e. it has got all its syllables *anudātta*.

Section V

(Dissertation on Coalescence)

पञ्चमः खण्डः (संधिचर्चा)

५३. लोपागमादेशवर्णविकाररूपाः संधयश्चतुर्धा ।

When the constituent words of a Vedic hymn as also the constituent words of the several *vṛttis* are uttered in juxtaposition or Saṁhitā, their co-alessence is observed in four different kinds as affecting the final letter of the first and the initial letter of the second constituent. These euphonic combinations of four types are : (1) elision of a letter, (2) addition of a letter, (3) substitution of another letter and (4) mutilation of a letter.

५४. स्वरसंधौ गुणवृद्धिसवर्णदीर्घान्तस्थादेशवर्जमन्यत्रैकस्य स्वरस्य लोपः ।

When two vowels occur in juxtaposition, one of them is dropped unless they combine together as one single *guṇa* vowel or one *vṛddhi* vowel, or one long vowel or the first of the two is turned into a semivowel. In short, instead of the *pūrvarūpa sandhi* as in देवीम्, देवम् etc , there is the omission of the vowel अ of the affix अम्. So also in words like देवैः, जनैः, प्रेजते instead of the *pararūpasandhi* there is the elision of the vowel अ at the end of देव, जन and प्र.

५५. ङणना आगमाः पूर्वस्य न परस्य ।

When ङ्, ण् or न् is to be added as an augment, it is to be affixed to the preceding vowel or consonant[1] and not to be prefixed to the following one. Accordingly, the Padapāṭha of प्रत्यङ्ङुक्षसि (I. 144.7) is प्रत्यङ् । असि and not प्रत्यङ् । ङसि ; that of अक्षुब-

[1] Cf. पदान्तीयो ह्रस्वपूर्वो ङकारो नकारश्च क्रामत उत्तरे स्वरे (*Ṛk Prāt.* VI. 4.). The *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* lays down here the doubling (क्रम) of ङ् or न् standing at the end of a *pada*, preceded by a short vowel and succeeded by any vowel, e. g. कीदृङ्ङिन्द्रः सरमे (*ṚV.* X. 108. 3), अहन्नहिं परिशयानम् (*ṚV.* III. 32. 11).

मीमदन्त हि (I. 82.2) is अक्षन् । अमीमदन्त । हि and not अक्षन् । नमीमदन्त । हि । So also अक्षण्वन्तः and अक्षण्वान् (X. 71.7 and I. 164.16) are split up as अक्षण्ऽवन्तः and अक्षण्ऽवान् and not अक्षऽण्वन्तः nor अक्षऽण्वान् as the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* would have.

५६. गुणवृद्धिदीर्घाः स्वरादेशाः ।

The substitution of the *guṇa* vowel अ, ए or ओ, for two vowels in juxtaposition, that of the *vṛddhi* vowel आ, ऐ or औ for two vowels and that of a long vowel for two vowels are *sandhis* of the nature of *ādeśa.*

५७. वर्गप्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमा व्यञ्जनानामादेशाः ।

The substitution of the first, third and fifth consonants of a class for others of the same class, known as चर्त्व, जश्त्व and अनुनासिकादेश are *sandhis* of the nature of *ādeśa.*

५८. सकारस्य षकारो विकारो नकारस्य णकारश्च ।

The substitution of ष् for स्, and that of ण् for न् under certain conditions, are called mutilations or *vikāras.*

Section VI

(Dissertation on Restoration to the Original)

षष्ठः खण्डः (प्रकृतिप्रत्यापत्तिचर्चा)

५९. पूर्वपदस्थनिमित्तेन षत्वणत्वरूपविकृतिमापन्नयोः सकारनकारयोः पदपाठे प्रकृत्यापादनम् ।

If the consonants स् and न् are changed in Saṁhitā into ष् and ण् respectively, on account of some conditions in the preceding word, restoration to the original form is effected in the Padapāṭha, e. g. मो षु णं इन्द्रा यत्रं पृत्सु देवैरस्ति हि ष्मा ते शुष्मिन्नवयाः is changed into Padapāṭha as मो इति । सु । नः । इन्द्र यत्रं । पृत्ऽसु । देवैः । अस्ति । हि । स्म । ते । शुष्मिन् । अवऽयाः । where षु, णः and ष्मा in the Saṁhitā text are restored to their original forms सु, नः and स्म. See also the words, रघुष्यदम् (III. 26.2), मधुषुत्तमः (III. 58.9), अविदुष्टरासः (X. 2.4), नि षसाद (I. 25.10), सुष्टुतिम् (I. 7.7),

सुषद्म् (VIII. 58.3), and the like re-changed into रघुऽस्यदम् , मधु सुत्ऽतमः , आविंदु ऽस्वरासः , नि ससाद, सुऽस्तुतिम् , सुऽसंदम् etc. respectively.

६०. अभ्यासात्परस्य च षकारस्य तथैव ।

Similarly the letter ष् occurring in the reduplicated syllable becomes changed into the original स् in the Padapāṭha, e. g. सुषुपुः (VII. 18.14) into सुसुपुः , सुषुमा, (I. 137.1) into सुसुम; सुषुमान् (X. 3.1) into सुसुमान्, सुषूंदथ (V. 54.7) into सुसूंदथ, सुष्वाणासं (IX. 101.11) into सुस्वानासं . It has to be, however, noted that in the examples quoted here, there is, in a way, little defence for the restoration of ष् into स् , as the cause for the change of स् into ष् remains intact in the same *pada*; it does not become removed apart even by an *avagraha*. Perhaps after the reduplication of the root सु, स्वप्, सूद् or the like, both the units of the root were looked upon as independent roots and the second syllable as a root was restored to its original form inspite of the absence of separation by an *avagraha*.

६१. लुप्तान्तिमनकारस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तथैवावस्थानम् ।

The letter न् standing at the end of a noun-base (प्रातिपदिक) forming the first member of a compound or preceding a case affix such as भिः ; सु or the like, which is elided in the compound word, is not restored in the Padapāṭha, e. g. आत्मऽदाः (X. 121.2), राजंऽपुत्रा (II. 27.7), राजऽयक्ष्मात् (X. 161.1), पूर्वंऽरात्यः (I. 23.8), राजंऽभिः (I. 20.5 etc.), कर्मंऽभि (III. 36.1), कर्मंऽसु (VIII. 38. 1).[1] It is to be noted however that before the

[1] According to Pāṇini, न् is dropped here as it is at the end of a noun-base by the rule नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य. As, generally the authors of the Padapāṭha put before the *avagraha*, the original form of the crude base, they should have shown the consonant न् in the dissolution of the Padapāṭha. They, however, do not show it. Possibly as shown above in note No. 1 on p. 24 words ending in न् were supposed to have two crude bases.

taddhita affix वत्, न् is not dropped and the *avagraha* is given in the Padapāṭha after न् liable to be changed to ण् if required e. g. अक्षण्ऽवान् (I. 164.16).[1]

६२. घक्षिघक्षोरित्यादौ संहितापाठे कृतस्य दत्वस्य घत्वप्रत्यापत्तिः ।

In the case of the root दह् there is recited in the Saṁhitā pāṭha, the letter द् for घ् in forms like धाक्षि, धक्षु and others. The original letter घ् is, however, restored in the Padapāṭha, e. g. आदस्य ते कृष्णासो दाक्षि सूरयः (I. 141.8) is split up in the Padapāṭha as आत् । अस्य । ते । कृष्णासः । धाक्षि । सूरयः. Similarly संदृष्टिरस्य हियानस्य दक्षोः (II. 4.4) is split up as सम्ऽदृष्टिः । अस्य । हियानस्य । धक्षोः । so also, दक्षत् in (II. 4.7) is restored to धक्षत् in the Padapāṭha. This change of घ of the root दह् into द in the Saṁhitā text is only occasional.[2] The correct forms धाक्षि, धक्षोः, धक्षत् and others are many times used.

६३. अव्ययानामाख्यातानां च दीर्घीकृतोन्त्यः स्वरो ह्रस्वतामापद्यते पदपाठे ।

Many times several indeclinables and verb forms have got their final vowel lengthened for the purpose of rhythm in the metre. They are all restored to their original forms in the

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[1] Pāṇini has prescribed the addition of न् to the affix वत् to be prefixed to it by the rule अनो नुट् (P. VIII. 2. 16). The original न् at the end of the bases अस्थन्, दधन्, अक्षन्, राजन् and the like, is dropped before the affix वत् by the rule नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य (P. VIII. 2. 7); but in Vedic Literature, as the words अक्षण्वन्तः, अस्थन्वतः are actually noticed in use, Pāṇini has prefixed न् to the affix वत् by the rule अनो नुट् with a view to having the substitution of ण् for न् where possible, which would have been prevented by the rule पदान्तस्य, had न् been affixed to bases like अक्ष. He has avoided the substitution of ण् for न् in this way, but, he has created an occasion for another difficulty viz. to have the break or pause (अवग्रह) after the base ending in अ against Vedic use. The author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, in fact, is in favour of such a pause after अ (See note 1 on p. 1).

[2] The recital of द् for घ् in the Saṁhitā pāṭha appears to be a simple mannerism and the restoration of the consonant घ् is but natural,

Padapāṭha, e. g. आ तू नं इन्द्र: (I. 10.11, III. 81.1, IV. 32.1, VIII. 81.1), is recited in the Padapāṭha as आ । तु । नः । इन्द्र. So also इमं मे वरुण श्रुधी हवंमद्या चं मृळय (I. 25.19) is split up as इमम् । मे । वरुण । श्रुधि । हवंम् । अद्य । च । मृळय । The indeclinables lengthened generally are सु, नु, तु, घ, मक्षु, अत्र, तत्र and others; while, the verbs lengthened are विद्म, चक्र, भरत, and others.[1] The word पुरुषः also is sometimes recited in the Saṁhitā-pāṭha as पूरुषः । e. g. विराजो अधि पूरुषः (X. 90.5), अतो ज्यायांश्च पूरुषः (X. 90.3).

Section VII

(Dissertation on the peculiar features of the Padapāṭha)

सप्तमो विभागः (पदपाठवैशिष्ट्यचर्चा)

६४. त्रयाणां त्र्यधिकानां वा पदानां संहितापाठे त्र्यधिकवारमावर्तने पदपाठे तेषामग्रहणं समयः । अनुच्चारितानि पदानि च गलत्पदानि ।

Samaya or conventional omission is the non-recital of three or more words in the Padapāṭha after they have occurred thrice in the same order as a group in the Saṁhitā

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[1] For the sake of metre and rhythm, the final vowel of some indeclinables and verbal forms ending generally in अ, is many times lengthened in the *Ṛgveda* hymns. Cf. ऋचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम्, द्व्यचोऽतस्तिङः, निपातस्य च and अन्येषामपि दृश्यते (P. VI. 3. 133, 135, 136, 137). In the Padapāṭha, the original short vowel is restored. Cf. also *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*, sūtras III. 96 to 129. In sūtra 129 a long list of verbs with their final vowel lengthened is given. It is interesting to note that verbs such as अविध्यत, अरुणत, अरैक्, अयुनक् and a few more have their initial अ lengthened verily for the sake of metre and rhythm; these verbal forms with the initial vowel अ lengthened are, however, looked upon as unjustified and they are passed over in the Krama recital. See *Upalekhasūtra* Varga 2. A list of such verbs is also given in the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* (II. 40-42). Note that this lengthening is called प्लुति or प्लवन in the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* where such words are enlisted at length in Paṭalas 7, 8 and 9.

recital, e.g. बृहद्वदेम विदथे सुवीराः (*RV.* II. 28.11 etc.) or आदित्यैर्यातमश्विना (*RV.* VIII. 35. 14-15). The words omitted in the Padapāṭha to avoid further repetition after they have occurred thrice in the same order, are called गलत्पद, गलित or even गलन्त. They are not recited in the Padapāṭha.[1] This feature, although observed by the traditional reciters of the Padapāṭha and noticed in the manuscript copies of the Padpāṭha, is not noticed by modern editors of the Padapāṭha.

६५. अनानुपूर्व्यसंहितायाः पदपाठे यथायोग्यं पदानि पठनीयानि ।

अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता is the name given to the rarely occurring faulty portion of the Saṁhitā text where quite another word, generally an indeclinable, is inserted between the two members of a compound word, which may or may not be capable of a division. Three instances of this अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता are given in the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya.*[2] The text शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं सहस्रात् (V. 2. 7) is split into the Padapāṭha as शुनःऽशेपम् । चित् । निऽदितम् । सहस्रात् Similarly, the text नरा वा शंसं पूषणमगोह्यम् (X. 64. 3) is recited

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[1] The term समय is an old one which is mentioned in the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* (X. 12) where it is defined by the commentator Uvaṭa as पदपाठे कदाचित् पूर्वप्राप्तानां पुनःप्राप्त्यवसरे पाठप्रदर्शनपरित्यागः समयशब्देन व्यवह्रियते । परित्यक्तानि तानि पदान्यपि तेन शब्देनोच्यन्ते. The term *samaya* thus, means omission as also omitted words. Generally three or more words repeated thrice are not repeated a fourth and further times. Cf. त्रिपदाद्यावर्तमाने संक्रमः (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 168). The word संक्रम does not mean omission or omitted words. It means 'leaping' or 'jumping over' which implies omission. Uvaṭa remarks in his comment on sūtra 168 as त्रिपदप्रभृत्यावर्तमाने ग्रन्थे संक्रमो भवति । आवर्तमानानि पदान्यतिक्रम्य अनावर्तमानेन पदेन सह संधिर्भवतीत्यर्थः । and further on sūtra 170 adds त्रिपदाद्यावर्तमान इति यदुक्तं तदनन्तरे पुनरुक्ते भवति । आनन्तर्यं चार्थकृतं शब्दकृतं च गृह्यते । For details, see उवटभाष्य on *Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 168–177. Also see *Madhusūdanī Śikṣā* stanza 23 and the comment thereon.

[2] Cf. शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं, नरा वा शंसं पूषणम् । नरा च शंसं दैव्यं ता अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिताः (*Ṛk Prāt.* II 43). The instances only are given here in the Text. The commentator Uvaṭa explains the term as : एतेषां त्रयाणां पदानुपूर्व्येण संहिता नास्ति पदपाठक्रमानुसारेण संहितापाठो न भवतीत्यर्थः । अतस्ता अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता उच्यन्ते ।

as नराशंसम् । वा । पूषणम् । अगोह्यम्, so also, नरा च शंसं दैव्यं च धर्तरि (IX. 86. 42) is split up as नराशंसम् । च । दैव्यम् । च । धर्तरि । One complete *pada* after another complete one, and, not a *pada* into the middle of another one, is the order (आनुपूर्व्य) of the Samhitā, when it is broken, the Samhitā text is called अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता। Sometimes quite another word is inserted between the two parts of such a Dvandva compound in the dual number, as has both the parts showing the sense of the whole compound word, e g. द्यावा च भूमा जनुषस्तुजेते (I. 61.14) is irecited in the Padapātha as द्यावा । च । भूमा । जनुष । तुजेते इति । So also द्यावा शोचिः पृथिवी अरोचयत् (I. 143. 2) as द्यावा । शोचिः । पृथिवी इति । अरोचयत् । So also द्यावा रक्षतं पृथिवी नो अभ्वात् (I. 185 2-8) as द्यावा रक्षतम् । पृथिवी इति । नः । अभ्वात् । In these instances द्यावा and पृथिवी are not joined together as द्यावापृथिवी by removing the words शोचिः and रक्षतम् from their midst, because द्यावा पृथिवी is not looked upon as a single compound word, but as two distinct words, द्यावा and पृथिवी each denoting 'Heaven and Earth' by the theory of युगपदधिकरणवचनता.[1]

६६. पदस्यान्ते इतिकरणं वेष्टनमिङ्गनं प्रगृह्येभ्यश्च समासविग्रहे च ।

To recite, in the Padapātha, a पद by putting the word इति after it and thus binding it with the word इति in accentuation, is called वेष्टन or इङ्गन.[2] This वेष्टन is found in the case of words ending in ओ followed by अ, प्रगृह्य words, that is, words in the dual number ending in ई, ऊ or ए and compound words before they are shown split up with an *avagraha* between their two constituent parts as also अमी, अस्मे, उ and the like and indeclinables and words in the vocative case ending in ए and ओ e. g. इन्द्राणी इति इन्द्राणी[2] (VI. 59. 8).

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[1] See note No. 3 on page 8.

[2] The term इङ्गन is an old one, used in the *Rk Prātiśākhya*. Cf. प्रयन्तश्चेङ्गसुत्तमम् (*Rk. Prāt.* 1. 35). Uvaṭa has explained the term इङ्ग as सावग्रह The term वेष्टन came to be used later on for इङ्गन. Cf. स्थितोपस्थितशब्देन वेष्टकोऽभिधीयते (Uvaṭa on *Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 190). The

(*Continued on the next page*)

६७. उपसर्गेभ्योपि तैत्तिरीयशाखायाम् ।

This *Veṣṭana* by the indeclinable इति is practised in the Taittirīya branch of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* in the case of Upasargas e. g. प्रेति । अर्पयतु । एति । प्यायध्वम् ।

Section VIII

(Dissertation on the vocal recital of the Veda Texts).

अष्टमः खण्डः (वेदवाक्योच्चारणरीतिचर्चा)

६८. संधिकार्यैः संबद्धानि पदानि संहिता ।

The Saṁhitā text of the Veda is nothing else than the *padas* recited as joined together, by rules of coalescence. The definition given in the Prātiśākhya works is पदप्रकृतिः संहिता. The compound पदप्रकृति· can be dissolved as पदानि प्रकृतिर्यस्याः सा implying that the original text was metrically very sound, with each quarter of the stanza consisting of 8, 11 or 12 syllables, although rules of coalescence were sometimes ignored. The compound can also be dissolved as पदानां प्रकृतिः implying that the original text was one from which the present Pada text was prepared by reciting each word separately.[1]

(*Continued from the previous page*)

term स्थितोपस्थित is used for the whole repeated word, with इति used between the two parts. For example see पुरोहितमिति पुरःऽहितम्. The whole phrase is called इङ्ग्य, वेष्टक, as also स्थितोपस्थित The first part with इति at the end is called उपस्थित, while the latter which is without इति is called स्थित· If the latter part is a द्विखण्ड i. e. a compounded word or a word made of a base and affix with the affix liable to be shown as separate, then the word is shown as split up with अवग्रह observed between the two parts. Cf. पूर्वस्योत्तरसंहितस्य स्थितोपस्थितमवग्रहस्य (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 190).

[1] The word संहिता is defined in the *Vājasaneyi–Prātiśākhya* as वर्णानामेकप्राणयोगः संहिता (*Vāj. Prāt.* I. 158). The rule पूर्वेणोत्तरः संहितः meaning 'the former word joined with the latter one with rules of coalescence observed when applicable, is called संहित' defines the Kramasaṁhitā. Cf. पूर्वेणोत्तरः संहितः । पदाविच्छेदोसंहितः (*Vāj. Prāt.* I. 155 156), Pāṇini defines संहिता as परः संनिकर्षः संहिता (P. I. 4. 109).

६९. संहितापाठे ऋगर्धे विरामः ।

In vocal utterance, a full stop is observed at the end of half-the-stanza i. e. two quarters (*pādas*) where the sentence also is generally complete.[1] The final letter of the last word of the second quarter is never combined with the initial letter of the third quarter by rules of coalescence.

७०. ऋगर्धमध्ये स्वरितात् प्रचयाद्वानन्तरं पदस्यान्ते ईषद्विरामः, न पदमध्ये कदापि । तथैव पादान्ते ।

Slight stop is observed at the end of a *svarita* vowel or *pracaya* vowel as also at the end of a foot, but never in the middle of a word. Traditional reciters, however, go on without any small stop right up to the end of half the verse, e. g. the line यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् is recited without a stop. The verse may be recited with the following divisions– यच्चिद्धि ते; विशो यथा; प्र देव वरुण; व्रतम् ।

७१. स्वरितोच्चारणमीषत्प्रलम्बनेन कुर्वन्ति ऋक्संहितापाठकाः ।

The traditional reciters, especially the followers of the *Ṛgveda*, recite the *svarita* vowel as slightly prolonged. This prolongation results sometimes into the utterance of a short vowel as that of a long vowel, e. g अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्, where ई in मी is heard like a *pluta* vowel and हि in हितम् as long ही. The elongated utterance of a long vowel sometimes results into a small pause after it, detaching the part ending with the *svarita* from the following part of the word, e. g. यत्ते सोम गवाशिरो यवाशिरो भजामहे । वातापे पीव इद्भव is heard as यत्ते३सोम

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[1] In *Ṛgveda* the Gāyatrī verses consist of three quarters where, for the sake of full stop, the first two *pādas* can be taken as ऋगर्ध and the third one also is looked upon as ऋगर्ध. There are a few verses where the first *pāda*, made up of 8, 11 or 12 syllables, is independent in sense. Sometimes a verse or a stanza consists of 5 or more *pādas*. What exactly is to be understood by ऋगर्ध for the purpose of full-stop, is made traditionally clear in the Krama recital where the last word of ऋगर्ध is enclosed by इति and repeated. For details, see *Vāj. Prāt.* (IV. 196–197), also *Upalekhasūtrabhāṣya* on अर्धर्चान्ते (*Upalekhasūtra* III, 10).

यवा३श्विरो यवा३श्विरो भजा३मह । वाता३ पेपी व इन्द्रव which goes to the length of making the perspicuous sense of the stanza very obscure, even to an intelligent listener.

७२. शषसेषु परेष्वनुस्वारस्यानुनासिको यजुषि ।

When *anusvāra* is followed by the consonant श्, ष्, or स् *anunāsika* (nasal sound) is heard instead of the *anusvāra* in the vocal recitals of the followers of the *Yajurveda*,[1] e. g. पुरुष एवेदँ सर्वम् (X. 90.2), अतो ज्यायाँश्च पूरुषः (X. 90.3).

७३. इवपदमसमस्तं पृथक्त्वेन पठन्ति तैत्तिरीयाः ।

In Vedic usage, the indeclinable इव is taken as compounded with the previous word which retains its case affix. The followers of the Taittirīyaśākhā look upon the indeclinable इव and its preceding word as separate *padas*,[2] e. g. दिवीव चक्षुराततम् (तै. सं. १।३।६।२) is split up into Padapātha as दिवि । इव । चक्षुः । आततमित्या-ततम् । The fact that the indeclinable इव is सर्वानुदात्त may be at the root of the convention that it is compounded with the previous word which has retained its case-affix. The case of a compound with इव is similar to the case of a preposition or *upasarga* which is सर्वानुदात्त and looked upon as compounded with the following verb in case the latter has retained its accent, e. g. अधिक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा (वाज. ५।१९) is split up into Padapātha as अधिक्षियन्तीत्यधिऽक्षियन्ति. See also अनुऽक्षरन्ति.

७४. डढयोर्ळळ्हौ च व्यञ्जनं परं न चेत् ।

Similarly, in the *Ṛgveda* recital the consonants ड् and ढ् are recited as ळ् and ळ्ह् provided they are not immediately

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[1] For details see अनुनासिका चोपधा and the following sūtras (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 4 to 11).

[2] The followers of यजुर्वेद do not observe the compound with इव. Hence it is, that the word नित्य as found in the Vārttika इवेन नित्यसमासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च is omitted in some copies. As इव is सर्वानुदात्त, there is no question of its accent affecting the accents of the adjacent words.

followed by a consonant,[1] e. g. ईळे, ईळितः, ईळेन्यः मीळ्हे, मीळ्हेषु, साळ्हा, (VII. 56.23), as also ईड्यः, ईड्यम्, मीढ्वः, मीढ्वान् and others.

७५. समस्तपदानां वेष्टनं विना अवग्रहयुक्तो विग्रहस्तथैव ।

Compound words are recited as split up with an *avagraha* between them in the Padapāṭha e. g. अग्निम् । ईळे । पुरःऽहितम् । यज्ञस्य । देवम् । ऋत्विजम् । होतारम् । रत्नऽधातमम् । See similarly कविऽक्रतुः । सत्यः । चित्रश्रवःऽतमः. The reciters of the *Yajurveda* use the word इति after a compound word and then show the separate parts of it with *avagraha* between them. This they practise even in the case of hymns taken from the *Ṛgveda*. For example, they recite पुरोहितमिति पुरःऽहितम् । or चित्रश्रवस्तममिति चित्रश्रवःऽतमम् ।

७६. प्रगृह्यस्य समस्तपदस्य वेष्टनानन्तरमवग्रहयुक्तो विग्रहः ।

In the case of compound words which are *pragṛhya* and hence have got the word इति used after them in the Padapāṭha, they are shown split up after the word इति and an *avagraha* is shown between the two parts if they are eligible to be split up[2] e. g. दीदग्नी इति दीदिऽअग्नी । समीची इति सम्ऽईची । प्रचेत इति प्रऽचेतः । विश्वजन्ये इति विश्वऽजन्ये । But see इन्द्राग्नी इति । विश्वामित्रजमदग्नी इति । इन्द्राग्नी इति and others where the compound words are not eligible to be split up.

७७. यकारस्य पदादौ जकारः क्वचित् षकारस्यापि स्थाने खकारः शुक्ले यजुषि ।

As a provincial mannerism, ज is substituted for य by reciters of the *Śuklayajurveda*, provided it stands at the

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[1] Cf. डढौ ळळ्हावेकेषाम् (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 146). In some cases in the *Yajurveda* recital also, there is this substitution of ळ् and ळ्ह् observed ; for example see इळे, अषाळ्हा. Uvata observes here that the word एकेषाम् in the Sūtra implies that the followers of the Mādhyandina branch never read ळ् and ळ्ह् for ड् and ढ्.

[2] Cf. प्रगृह्यं चर्चायामितिना पदेषु (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 18) explained by उवट as प्रगृह्यसंज्ञकं यत्पदं तच्चर्चायां परभूतायामितिना आगामिकेन व्यवधीयते । चर्चाशब्देन इतिकरणात्परतो या तस्यैव पदस्य द्विरुक्तिः सोच्यते ।

beginning of a *pada*. Similarly, at a few places ख् is recited in the place of ष्, e. g. जखेंन जर्खमयजन्त देवाः ।

७८. कश्चित्तैत्तिरीया निमित्तं विना नकारस्य स्थाने णकारमुच्चारयन्ति । पादान्ते नकारस्य द्वित्वं च । तथैवानुनासिकात्परस्याकारस्य रुडागमम् ।

In some places in Southern India reciters of the Taittirīya Branch of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda* pronounce ण् instead of न्, e. g. एणाः for एनाः; अग्णि for अग्नि and so on.[1] Sometimes they recite double न् instead of the single one, at the end of the foot of a verse, e. g. तं यज्ञं बर्हिषि प्रौक्षन्न्. Similarly, the vowel अ following an *anunāsika* letter is pronounced with र् prefixed to it, e. g. अग्ने क्रत्वा क्रतूँ रनु (पवमानसूक्त).

७९. नराशंसादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ।

The words नराशंस and others should be understood as they are actually found recited in the Padapāṭha. Sometimes words which are well known as derived, are not found split up in the Padapāṭha, e. g. नराशंसम्, ऋत्विजम्, प्रत्यङ्, तस्करः, विश्वाहा, वीरुधः, गोपा, संवत्सरः and the like. Possibly, they were looked upon as underived words in specific senses which were not their literal senses. On the other hand, the words जातवेदस् and जमदग्नि are found split up as जातऽवेदस् and जमत्ऽअग्नि. Some Dvandva compounds are not shown split up although they are not Devatā-dvandva compounds, e. g. धुनीचुमुरी, सत्यानृते, अजावयः, उभयादतः, (X. 90.10), साशनानशने (X. 90.4). Possibly they are taken in a group sense, which, being restricted, is not the literal one. There are peculiar compounds like एहिऽमायासः, इहेहऽमातरा with verbal or indeclinable forms inside. Possibly they were picked up from the then spoken languages as they occurred therein e. g. एहि (Come here), मा यासः (Don't go) were used together. So also इहेह (here, here), मातरः (respected mothers) were used together. There are certain words which go against Pāṇini's grammar wherein they are specifically mentioned as derived

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[1] Bhartṛhari observes in his *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* that on some occasions the followers of the Taittirīya school pronounce अग्णि for अग्नि,

in a particular way which goes against the Padapāṭha, e. g. स्वप्नक्, तृष्णक्, धृष्णक्, अहंयुः, शुभंयुः, अक्षण्वान् and the like. Pāṇini derives स्वप्नक् and तृष्णक् by the application of the *kṛt* affix नजिङ् (नज्) to the roots स्वप् and तृष् by the rule स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ् (III. 2.172). धृष्णक् should be derived in the same way, adds the Vārttikakāra. The forms found in Veda are अस्वप्नऽजः, तृष्णऽजः and धृष्णऽजः which are nominative plural forms. They are Nominative plural forms according to Pāṇini also, but the *avagraha* cannot be explained according to Pāṇini. The words have to be taken as compound words having जः as the *uttarapada*. स्वप्नजा, तृष्णजा and धृष्णजा are to be taken as derived from the root जन् with स्वप्न, तृष्ण and धृष्ण as *upapadas*, just as the word गोषा is derived from the root सन् with गो as *upapada* (cf. गोषा इन्दो नृषा असि with गोऽसाः । इन्दो इति । नृऽसाः । असि । as the Padapāṭha). The Nominative plural forms ending in ज are to be taken as rather irregular. Pāṇini has derived the words अहंयुः, कंयुः , शंयुः, and शुभंयुः by applying the *taddhita* affix यु (युस्) to the words अहम्, कम्, शम् and शुभम् which, by virtue of the mute letter स् applied to the affix, can be looked upon as *padas*, and hence, can have the letter म् turned into *anusvāra*. The words अहंयु, शंयु and शुभंयु occur in the *Ṛgveda* and the Padapāṭha has अहम्ऽयुः (I. 167.7), शंयू इवेति शंयूऽइव (X. 143.6) and शुभम्ऽयवः (X. 78.7). It appears that these words in the Veda are derived from the denominative roots, अहंय, शंय and शुभंय by the application of the affix उ just like गव्ययु, त्वायु and others. The words अक्षण्वन्तः (X. 71.7), अस्थन्वन्तम् (I. 164.4), रथिंतमः (VI. 44.1), दस्युहन्तमम् (VI. 16.15, VIII. 39.8, X. 170. 2) and the like, are split up in the Padapāṭha as अक्षण्ऽवन्तः, अस्थन्ऽवन्तम्, रथिन्ऽतमः, दस्युहन्ऽतमम्, where the nasal letter न् is seen before the affixes वत् and तम. According to Pāṇini, as the letter न् is prefixed as नुट् to the affixes, *avagraha* should have been put before the letter न् which forms a part of the affix वत्. The Mahābhāṣyakāra has accordingly advised to that effect in his comment on the Sūtra अनो नुट् (P. VIII. 2.16). See note 1.

८०. पदपाठसंकेता पते क्रमपाठे विकृतिषु च प्रवर्तन्ते ।

The conventions given above, are observed in the Krama recital which followed the Pada recital and thereafter in the eight developments of the Padapāṭha and the Kramapāṭha[1] viz. जटा, माला, शिखा, रेखा, ध्वज, दण्ड, रथ and घन. Krama is defined as—

> क्रमो द्वाभ्यामभिक्रम्य प्रत्यादायोत्तरं तयोः ।
> उत्तरेणोपसंदध्यात् तथार्धर्चं समापयेत् ॥ (ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य X. 1)

क्रम is the recital of two consecutive *padas* in the right order, then taking the second only, and joining it with the third, then taking the third and joining it with the fourth and so on, upto the end of half the stanza. If the consecutive *padas* अग्निम् , ईळे, पुरोहितम् , यज्ञस्य, देवम् and ऋत्विजम् are taken as *a b c d e f*, then the Krama is *ab,bc,cd,* (*c*), *de,ef* (*f*) etc. अग्निमीळे । ईळे पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितमिति पुरःऽहितम् । यज्ञस्य देवम् । देवमृत्विजम् । ऋत्विजमिति ऋत्विजम् । The pairs are to be recited as separate units, a compound word is to be shown as dissolved immediately after that pair in which it stands first and is no longer to be repeated, and at the end of the last pair, the last word is recited as enclosed with इति and then recited again as the end.

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[1] The Kramapāṭha was composed possibly soon after the Padapāṭha. In Pāṇinisūtra क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् (IV. 2.61), which is under the Adhikāra-sūtra तदधीते तद्वेद (IV. 2. 59), the word क्रमक is formed in the sense of 'a student reciting the Krama'. As the word क्रम standing for the Krama-recital anticipates the Pada racital, it can be said definitely that the Padapāṭha and the Kramapāṭha were in existence at the time of Pāṇini. The word अवग्रह meaning 'pause' and forming a feature of the Padapāṭha, mentioned in the rule छन्दस्यृदवग्रहात् (P. VIII. 4. 26) confirms the existence of Padapātha before Pāṇini. The eight other recitals जटा, माला etc., which are based on these two recitals, must have come into existence soon afterwards, as Vyādi, a scholar of Veda and Vyākarana, who was related to Pāṇini, has written a short treatise on the eight recitals जटा, माला etc. known by the name विकृतिवल्ली. For detailed information on these eight recitals, see विकृतिकौमुदी of गङ्गाधरभट्टाचार्य, जटापटलदीपिका of दयाशङ्कर and अष्टविकृतिविवरण of Madhusūdana.

Jata is defined by Hayagriva as—

क्रमे यथोक्तं पदजातमेव द्विरभ्यसेदुत्तरमेव पूर्वम् ।
अभ्यस्य पूर्वं च तथोत्तरे पदेऽवमानमेवं हि जटाभिधीयते ॥
(हयग्रीवकारिका १)

It is defined by Vyadi as—

ब्रूयात् क्रमविपर्यासक्रममीदृग्विधिं दिशेत् ।
जटाख्यां विकृतिं धीमान् विज्ञाय क्रमलक्षणम् ॥ (विकृतिवल्ली ६)

In the Jata recital two *padas* are to be recited in the right order, then in the reverse order, and then in the right order as: *ab ba ab*, *bc cb bc*, *cd dc cd*, *de ed de*, *ef fe ef*, and so on. The rest is to be done as in the Krama.

माला or क्रममाला is defined as:

ब्रूयात् क्रमविपर्यासावर्धर्चस्यादितोऽन्ततः ।
अन्तं चादिं नयेदेवं क्रममालेति कीर्तिता ॥ (विकृतिवल्ली २१)

If *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e* and *f* are the *padas* of the hymn अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् and () is the sign of the *vestana*, the Kramamala can be described as: *ab*, (*f*), *be*, *fe*, *cd*, *ed*, (*c*), *dc*, *de*, *cb*, *ef*, (*e*), (*f*), *ba*.

Sikha is defined as,

पदोत्तरां शिखामेव जटामार्याः प्रचक्षते । (विकृतिवल्ली २२)

Sikha is but an extension of जटा. It can be illustrated in the case of the hymn अग्नीमीळे० as: *abbaabc*, *bccbbcd*, *cddccde*, (*c*), *deeddef effeef* (*f*).

Lekha or Rekha is defined as:

क्रमाद्द्वित्रिचतुःपञ्चपदक्रममुदाहरेत् ।
पृथक् पृथग्विपर्यस्य रेखामाहुः पुनः क्रमात् ॥ (विकृतिवल्ली २३)

This variety is difficult to recite and illustrate, as the examples of द्विक्रम, त्रिक्रम, चतुःक्रम and पञ्चक्रम are to be chosen and arranged therein.

ध्वज is defined as:

ब्रूयाददेः क्रमं सम्यगन्तादुत्तारयेदिति ।
वर्गो वा ऋचि वा यत्र पठनं स ध्वजः स्मृतः ॥ (विकृतिवल्ली २४)

This variety is also difficult to recite and illustrate, as it requires the Krama recital from the beginning of a hymn mixed with the same, commencing from the end.

दण्ड is defined as :

क्रममुक्त्वा विपर्यस्य पुनश्च क्रममुत्तरम् ।
अर्धर्चादेवमुक्तोऽयं क्रमदण्डोऽभिधीयते ॥ (विकृतिवल्ली २५)

This recital also is difficult for recital and illustration.

रथ is defined as :

पादशोऽर्धर्चशो वापि सहोक्त्या दण्डवद्रथः । (विकृतिवल्ली २६)

As two hymns of equal number of *padas* are to be chosen and recited together, this variety also is difficult for illustration and citation.

घन is defined as :

शिखामुक्त्वा विपर्यस्य पुनस्त्रिपदमुच्चरेत् ।
शिखाजटाघनः प्रोक्तः इत्यष्टौ विकृति पठेत् ॥ (मधुसूदनी शिक्षा ५५)

This Ghana variety is difficult to recite and illustrate too; but, it is in the traditional practice. The recital is rather grave, but at the same time it is sonorous and charming. If अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् is put as *a b c d e f* as far as the *padas* are concerned, the Ghana recital is :— *ab ba, abc cba abc, bccbbcd dcb bcd, cd, dc, cde, edc, cde,* (*c*), *de, ed, def, fed, def, fe ef* (*f*) In the Ghana variety of half the stanza which is to be taken as a unit for Ghana, as for example, अग्निम् ईळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवम् ऋत्विजम्, the word अग्निम् occurs five times, ईळे occurs ten times, पुरोहितम् occurs thirteen times, यज्ञस्य also thirteen times, then in a descending order देवम् occurs ten times and ऋत्विजम् five times, and then at the end, the last word ऋत्विजम् is rounded up by इति. In the middle, the compound word पुरोहितम् (*c*) is rounded up and dissolved after it has been recited for the last time. The Ghana recital of समिधाग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिम् is as follows :— समिधाग्निमग्निं समिधा समिधाग्निं दुवस्यत दुवस्यताग्निं समिधा समिधाग्निं दुवस्यत । समिधेति सम्ऽइधा । अग्निं दुवस्यत दुवस्यताग्निमग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैर्घृतैर्दुवस्यताग्निमग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैः । दुवस्यत घृतैर्घृतैर्दुवत दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयत । बोधयत घृतैर्दुवस्यत दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयत घृतैर्बोधयत बोधयत घृतैर्घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिमतिथि बोधयत घृतैर्घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिम् । अतिथिं बोधयत बोधयतातिथिम् । अतिथिमित्यतिथिम् ॥ The Ghana recital of अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । होतारं रत्नधातमम् (*Ṛgveda* I. 1.1) given by Madhusūdanamuni in his *Aṣṭavikṛtilakṣaṇa,* is as follows :— अग्निमीळ ईळेग्निमग्निमीळे

पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितमीळेऽग्निमग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् । ईळे पुरोहितं पुरोहितमीळ ईळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । यज्ञस्य पुरोहितमीळ ईळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य यज्ञस्य पुरोहितं पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवम् । देवं यज्ञस्य पुरोहितं पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवम् । पुरोहितमिति पुरःऽहितम् । यज्ञस्य देवं देवं यज्ञस्य यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । ऋत्विजं देवं यज्ञस्य यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । देवमृत्विजं ऋत्विजं देवं देवमृत्विजम् । ऋत्विजं देवं देवमृत्विजम् । ऋत्विजमित्यृत्विजम् ॥ होतारं रत्नधातमं रत्नधातमं होतारं होतारं रत्नधातमम् । रत्नधातमं होतारं होतारं रत्नधातमम् । रत्नधातममिति रत्नऽधातमम् ॥

घन is defined by Vyaḍi as :

अन्तक्रमं पठेत्पूर्वमादिपर्यन्तमानयेत् ।
आदिक्रमं नयेदन्तं घनमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ (विकृतिवल्ली २७)

This Ghana recital is illustrated by means of the verse प्र ण इन्दो महे तने ऊर्मिं न बिभ्रदर्षसि (*Ṛgveda* IX. 14.1) as follows:–

अर्षसीत्यर्षसि । प्र णः । बिभ्रदर्षसि । न इन्दो । न बिभ्रन् । इन्दो महे । ऊर्मिं न । इन्दो इतीन्दो । महे तने । तन ऊर्मिम् । इन्दो महे । न बिभ्रन् । इन्दो इतीन्दो । बिभ्रदर्षसि । न इन्दो । अर्षसीत्यर्षसि । प्र णः ॥ (विकृतिकौमुदी).

शौनकीयं प्रातिशाख्यं तथान्यद्विकृतानि च ।
अधीत्य पदपाठस्य कृता चर्चा यथामति ॥ १ ॥
संशोध्योद्धृतवाक्यानि संदर्भैरनुयोजिता ।
आङ्ग्लभाषालिखितया व्याख्यया विशदीकृता ॥ २ ॥
प्रमादीनामके बाणग्रहवस्विन्दु (१८९५) वत्सरे ।
शाके ज्येष्ठे समारब्धा श्रावणे च समापिता ॥ ३ ॥
मयेयं काशिनाथेन वासुदेवस्य सूनुना ।
अभ्यंकरोपाह्वकेण पुण्याख्ये नगरे वरे ॥ ४ ॥
अमायामृषिपञ्चम्यां शुभायां मन्दवासरे ।
भाण्डारकर–संस्थायै प्रेमपूर्वं समर्प्यते ॥ ५ ॥
यद्यपि किंचिदर्थीति नेदस्मि तथापि धाष्टर्यमस्तीदम् ।
वेदार्थकरणमार्गे सौलभ्यं स्यादयं हेतुः ॥ ६ ॥
अन्योन्योऽर्थः कृतः कासांचिदृचां सायणादिभिः ।
चर्चेयमुपयुक्ता स्यात् यथार्थज्ञानकल्पने ॥ ७ ॥

॥ इति वेदपदपाठचर्चा समाप्ता ॥

उपलेखसूत्रम्

(भारद्वाजबृहस्पतिप्रोक्तम्)

UPALEKHASŪTRAM

(by Bhāradvāja Bṛhaspati)

INTRODUCTION

This edition of one hundred and thirtysix Upalekha-sūtras is based upon three manuscript copies, one belonging to Veda-mūrti Bhalchandra Bhatta Karambelkar of Poona which is styled as P, another belonging to Veda-mūrti Marutibowa Bapat of Satara styled as S, and the third from the Ghalashasi (Vighasāśī) family of Karād, (now in the possession of the Vaidik-Saṁshodhan Mandala of Poona) styled as K. A printed copy edited by Shri Venkataramashastri referred to here as V was also consulted, which, besides being inaccurate at many places, has dropped altogether the third chapter as also an important portion of the treatise at the end, which discusses the title *upalekha*. The Poona Ms has 12 folios with 10 lines on each side. The Satara Ms has 8 folios with 12 lines on each side, while the Karad Ms, which contains only the Sūtra portion, has 5 folios with 8 lines on each side.

There is not given the name or the date of the author of the Sūtras in any one of the manuscripts. The copies P, S and V contain a short gloss which is named Bhāsya, whose author or date is also not mentioned. This Bhāṣya is not printed in the present edition, as it is not of much use, and is comparatively a modern work. An explanation of the Sūtras in English is given with many instances below the Sūtras. Many of the instances are picked up from the Bhāṣya where neither references are given, nor accents marked. They are however supplied wherever possible in the present edition.

The Sūtras appear to have been composed a few centuries after the Prātiśākhya works in the Sūtra period as can be seen from some indirect references to these works. The word भारद्वाज occurs in the colophon of the Bhāṣya in Ms K,, while

the word बृहद्राचार्य occurs in the colophon of Ms P. The text of the colophons is very corrupt here, and it cannot be stated defiinitely whether these words refer to the author of the present work or to one of the traditional preceptors of the Pada and other recitals of the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā.* Vyāḍi, an eminent ancient scholar of Veda and Vyākaraṇa, who is believed to have been related to Pāṇini, refers to three great preceptors in the line of ancient preceptors of the *Ṛgveda* and its recitals viz. वृद्धशाकल्य, शाकलाचार्य and भारद्वाजबृहस्पति to whom he respectfully bows down at the beginning of his work विकृतिवल्ली. The text of Vyādi is as follows:—

नमामि शाकलाचार्यं शाकल्यस्थविरं तथा।
ब्रह्मविद्यागुरुं श्रेष्ठं भारद्वाजं बृहस्पतिम्॥ (विकृतिवल्ली St. 3).

The epithet ब्रह्मविद्यागुरु here, may wellnigh show that the sage named बृहस्पति in the family of भरद्वाज was the direct preceptor of Vyāḍi in his study of ब्रह्मविद्या or वेदविद्या. If the line of reasoning given above is acceptable, भारद्वाजबृहस्पति can be looked upon as the author of the present work viz. उपलेखसूत्र and the date of Pāṇini as his date.

The work is divided into 8 sections to which the name *varga* is given. The first chapter gives the alphabets and deals with a few technical terms which, are necessary for the topics discussed in the work. The second section quotes passages from the *Ṛgveda,* in which words, which although grammatically ncorrect, are recited so in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, but recited correctly in the Padapāṭha. In these cases, the incorrect word is taken together with the preceding and the following correct words in the Kramapāṭha, which consists of three words and is consequently named *trikrama.* In this *trikrama* the word preceding the incorrect word, the incorrect word and the word succeeding the incorrect word are recited as one unit and the third word only is taken and joined with the following word to form the next unit. The inaccurate word, in short, is recited only once in the Kramapāṭha. The inaccuracy of these words was probably due to mannerisms of the spoken language or exigencies of metre. These

irregular words in the Saṁhitā are not given in the word-index of the printed edition of the *Ṛk Saṁhitā.* It is hoped they will be given in the next edition for facility of reference. The third section enumerates verses of three feet and discusses where half-the-verse ends in such verses.

The fourth section deals with *pragṛhya* words, i. e. the words which have the indeclinable इति placed after them for showing some peculiar feature of them such as grammatical irregularily (असाधुत्व), or prohibition of coalescence (प्रगृह्यत्व), or standing compounded (समस्तत्व). Such words are generally recited before इति as in the Saṁhitāpāṭha and after इति as in the Padapāṭha. The word after इति is to be shown split up by a pause if it is recognised as divisible into parts. The fifth section enumerates those cases where the word before इति is to be recited as in the Padapāṭha, in spite of the general rule that the word before इति should be read as in the Saṁhitāpāṭha and the word after इति as in the Padapāṭha. The sixth section specifies those cases where words in the Saṁhitāpāṭha have undergone mutilation by augments or substitutes and states that the original form of the word is to be recited before इति as also after इति, and the word after इति should be split up if it is liable to be split up. The seventh section deals with the coalescence of the initial vowel इ of इति with the preceding letter. The eighth ection deals with the coalescence of the final vowel of इति with the following vowel. It also discusses the changes in accents due to coalescence and draws attention to those cases where the *svarita* vowel is uttered with a quaver in the Saṁhitāpāṭha and uttered without it in the Padapāṭha.

The word उपलेख in the title उपलेखसूत्र is rather an unusual one and its exact sense is difficult to be given. Lekhā or Rekhā is one of the eight varieties of the recital of the Veda text viz. जटा, माला, शिखा, रेखा, ध्वज, दण्ड, रथ and घन and the word उपलेख can be taken to mean the basis of लेखा i. e. क्रम (लेखाया उपजीव्यः) and the term उपलेखसूत्र can be interpreted as क्रमसूत्र

which, in fact, it is. The last few lines of the Bhāsya, which discuss the word उपलेख, although very incorrectly written in all copies, show that the word is taken by the Bhāsyakāra to mean written as helpful to the study of Veda.

It is hoped that this short manual will be a suitable auxiliary work to the *Vedapadapāthacarcā* as it discusses fully the topics त्रिक्रम, परिग्रह, अवग्रह and कम्प, which are dealt with in general outlines along with several other topics in the *Vedapadapāthacarcā.*

Chaitra Shukla 1
Śaka 1896
March 24, 1974

K. V. Abhyankar

UPALEKHASŪTRAM

उपलेखसूत्रम् *

Section I

(प्रथमो वर्गः)

संज्ञाविशेषाः

१. अकारादयो द्वादश स्वराः ॥

अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, ॠ, ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are the 12 vowels. The number of letters and the order in which they are given much differ in different ancient works. The *Śivasūtras* give nine vowels and 34 consonants. The *Śikṣā* of Pāṇini gives 21 vowels and 43 consonants including some phonemic units like *anusvāra, visarga,* ळ् (दुःस्पृष्ट) and others. The *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* adds only four अनुस्वार, विसर्ग, जिह्वामूलीय and उपध्मानीय to the 9 vowels and 34 consonants given in the *Śivasūtras*. The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* mentions 16 vowels and 36 other letters. The *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* mentions 23 vowels including long (दीर्घ) and prolated (प्लुत) varieties of vowels and 42 other letters; while the *Ṛktantra* gives 14 vowels, and 43 other letters. The author here does not include the *pluta* variety of vowels although he has mentioned the word *pluta* in Sūtra I. 10. Possibly there was no प्लुत variety in the *Ṛgveda*. The term प्लुत was used in the sense of दीर्घ. Only one example of *pluta* is given by scholars in the *Ṛgveda* viz. the vowel ई which is believed to be *pluta* and recited as such in the verse नासदासीन्नो सदासीत् तदानीम् (*ṚV*. X. 129.1).

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* Three Mss. and one printed edition published by Vāṇīvilāsa Press, Shrīraṁgam, have been consulted in fixing the text of this work. The Ms. designated P belongs to Shri Bhalchandrabhatta Karambelkar of Poona. The one, designated S, was made available to me by Shri Buva Bapat from the collection in the Veda Pāṭhaśālā, Satara ; while the third, designated K, was made available to me by the Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, Poona. Mss. P and S and the printed edition (V) contain the Bhāṣya of an anonymous author which, being comparatively modern, is not incorporated in this edition.

२. शिष्टं व्यञ्जनम् ।

The remaining letters, leaving aside the 12 vowels, ar. consonants which are mentioned below.

३. ककारादयः[1] पञ्च वर्गाः स्पर्शाः ।

The 25 class consonants क् ख् ... भ् म् are called स्पर्श.

४. यकारादयश्चतस्रोऽन्तस्थाः ।

The consonants य्, र्, ल्, व् are given the name अन्तस्थ i. semi-vowels.

५. शकारादयोऽष्टा ऊष्माणः[2] ।

श्, ष्, स् and ह् as also ᳵ क् (जिह्वामूलीय), ᳵ प् (उपध्मानीय), विस and अनुस्वार are the eight *ūṣman* letters. The order of word n the Sūtra would rather be शकारादयः ᳵ क् ᳵ पौ विसर्गानुस्वारौ (च अष्ट ऊष्माणः.

६. प्रथमद्वितीया वर्गाणामूष्माणश्च हकारवर्जमघोषवन्तः ।

The first and second consonants of each of the five classe of consonants, as also श्, ष् and स् possess no *ghoṣa* property.

७. शिष्टं घोषवत् ।

The remaining consonants are possessed of the propert घोष. They are called sonants. They are the third, fourth an fifth consonants of each class, as also the semi-vowels य्, र्, ल and व्.

८. ह्रस्वमेकमात्रम् ।

The time taken by the utterance of a short vowel is on *mātrā* or *mora*.

९. दीर्घं द्विमात्रम् ।

A long vowel takes two *mātrās* as time for its utterance

१०. प्लुतं त्रिमात्रम् ।

The time taken by a prolated vowel for its utterance i three *mātrās*. The word प्लुत was used in the Prātiśākhy works in the sense of lengthened. A further lengthening of th long vowel, which is called protraction or prolation, came int

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1 P reads ककाराद्याः, 2 K V add ᳵकᳵ विसर्गानुस्वारौ,

practice later on, for which the word *pluta* became relegated, while the word दीर्घ remained in use for simple lengthening.

११. व्यञ्जनं चार्धमात्रम्[1] ।

The time taken by a consonant for its utterance is half a *mātrā*.

१२. स्वरभक्तिश्चाक्रमे ।

Similarly, the vowel-cognate also takes half a *mātrā* time for its utterance. When, by rules of coalescence the vowel ऋ is changed into अर् or आर्, the consonant र् is uttered like र्ऋ if it is followed by a consonant. This additional pronunciation of र् like ऋ is named स्वरभक्ति. For example, in अदार्शि, कर्हि and the like, र् appears to be uttered like र्ऋ and, instead of having one *mātrā* as the time of its utterance on the analogy of short vowels this ऋ which is called *svarabhakti* takes only half a *mātrā* time for its utterance.

१३. क्रमे त्वर्धोना ।

If, however, it is followed by a conjunct consonant, it takes only a quarter of a *mātrā* time for its utterance e. g. अदर्श्यायती (*Ṛ V.* VII. 81.1). Here the vowel cognate (स्वरभक्ति) requires only a quarter of a *mātrā* time for its utterance.

१४. क्रमो द्वैपदशः[2] ।

The word क्रम in this Sūtra stands for the recital of the Veda-texts by means of pairs of words. This recital, called क्रम, was a later development of the Pada recital, wherein each *pada* was recited twice, once in each of the two pairs, the second *pada* in a pair becoming the first *pada* in the next pair e. g. अग्निमीळे । ईळे पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । This technical term Krama in the sense of the recital, described above, came into use as allied to the older word Krama in the sense of doubling as used in the previous Sūtra.

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1 K P V read व्यञ्जनमर्धमात्रम्.

2 S reads क्रमो द्वौ पदशः.

१५. तयोरुत्तरेणोत्तरपदं संदध्यात्[1] ।

The method of the formation of Krama is given here. Out of the two words of a pair, the second word should be taken out and joined with the third one to form the next pair, and this process is to go on upto the end of half the stanza ; i. e. two quarters or *pādas* out of four quarters.

१६. आर्धर्चान्तात्[2] ।

This Krama recital should be taken continuously pair after pair upto the end of half-the-stanza ; e. g. if half the stanza e. g. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् has got 6 words, the Krama recital would be as follows : *ab / bc / cd / de / ef / f* stop.

१७. ऊमितीमित्याकारे,[3] षत्वसंहिते स्विति पदे नः परे, नावस्येत् ।

The text of the Sūtra is not very accurate in the copies P and V which read ऊमिति मित्याकारे ; the word मिति gives no suitable sense. Ms. S. reads the Sūtra correctly as given above which means " in forming the pairs for Krama, one should not end the pair after the indeclinable उ which has the consonant म् mute (in the Saṁhitā) i. e. which stands as उ in the Saṁhitā text, but which is recited as ऊम् i. e. ऊँ in the Padapāṭha ; similarly, one should not end the pair and stop after ईम् which is read as ई in the Saṁhitā recital and ईम् in the Pada recital, nor after आ, nor after the indeclinable सु followed by नः and appearing as *ṣu* i. e. with स् changed into ष्". For instances see यमी गर्भमृतावृधः (*R̥V.* IX. 102.6), ए रिणन्ति बर्हिषि (*R̥V.* IX. 71.6) and सर्मी रेभासः (*R̥V.* VIII. 97.11). The indeclinable उ and the word ईम् with म् dropped in the Saṁhitā text, are meant here. The Sūtra, in short, means that one should not stop after उ when it is given as ऊँ or ऊम् in the Padapāṭha, nor after ई when it is given as ईमिति

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1 V gives न संदध्यात् as a correction for संदध्यात् in the corrigenda.

2 K P V read आर्द्धर्चात् as Sūtra No. 15, and then read तयोरुत्तरेणोत्तर° ... as Sūtra No 16.

3 P V read ऊ इति मित्याकारे.

in the Padapāṭha, nor after आ, nor after सु when it occurs as षुण: in the Padapātha, but straight on add the next word and recite the Krama of three words as एतवा उ अभि (*Ṛ V.* IV. 58.9), उदु त्यम् (*Ṛ V.* I. 50.1), त्यमु वः (*Ṛ V.* VI. 44. 4; VIII. 92.7), यमी गर्भम् (*Ṛ V.* IX. 102.6), ए रिणन्ति (*Ṛ V.* IX. 71 6), समी रथंन (*Ṛ V.* IX. 71. 5), मित्रयोराँ एति (*Ṛ V.* VI. 51.1), गव्यो षु णः (*Ṛ V.* VIII. 46.10). For details see *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* (X. 2.3. and 4) and *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* (IV. 184–189).

Section II

(द्वितीयो वर्गः)

त्रिक्रमचतुःक्रमविशेषाः ।

१. न्याविध्यदिलीविशस्य[1]

न्याविध्यदिलीविशस्य इळहा (*Ṛ V.* I. 33. 12) and others, stated in the rules that follow, are instances where the second word in the pair is superseded and, joining it with the word that follows, the Krama unit of three words is recited. The reason of the passing over or supersession of the second word is its grammatical irregularity or quaintness (विलक्षणत्व) in the language as stated by the Bhāsyakāra. The Padapāṭha is नि । अविध्यत् । इलीविशस्य where the regular word अविध्यत् is given instead of the irregular word आविध्यत् in the Samhitā text. The Kramapāṭha is न्यविध्यदिलीविशस्य । इलीविशस्य इळहा । etc.

२. उषा आवर्तमः ।

The passage गावो न व्रजं व्युषा आवर्तमः occurs as the last foot of अधि पेशांसि वपते......(*Ṛ V.* I. 92.4). The Bhāsyakāra observes that the substitution of *r* (रेफ) is irregular here. There is *trikrama* therefore as उषा आवस्तमः । आवरित्यावः.

३. न्यावृणङ् मरुत्वन्तम् ।

The correct word here is अवृणक् instead of आवृणक्. On account of its incorrect form, the word आवृणक् is passed over

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1 K V read इलीविसस्य.

and the Krama is न्यवृणङ् मरुत्वन्तम् । मरुत्वन्तं सख्याय । सख्याय हवामहे (*Ṛ V.* I. 101.2).

४. अगादारैगु कृष्णा ।

In the Saṁhitā text रुशद्वत्सा रुशती श्वेत्यागादारैगु कृष्णा (*Ṛ V.* I. 113.2) the irregular word आरैक् is used for अरैक् and उ is a single letter. Here, both अरैक् and उ are superseded in the क्रमपाठ which is recited as अगादरैगु कृष्णा, made up of four words (चतुःक्रम).

५. योनिमारैगप ।

The word आरैक् occurs in the Samhitā text in the following passages as irregular for अरैक् पृथ्वा रात्र्युषसे योनिमारैक् (*Ṛ V.* I. 113.1), रुशद्वत्सा···श्वेत्यागादारैगु (*Ṛ V.* I. 113.2), आरैक्पन्थां यातवे (*Ṛ V.* I. 113.16) and न जामये तान्वो रिक्थमारैक् (*Ṛ V.* III. 31.2). In passages 1,3 and 4 out of these, the irregular word आरैक् does not affect the Kramapāṭha as it is the last and first in the half of the verse. Passage 2 is discussed in Sūtra 4 above. The passage here referred to, is स्वसा स्वस्रे ज्यायस्यै योनिमारैगपै-त्यस्याः (*Ṛ V.* I. 124.8). Here superseding the word आरैक्, the Krama of 3 words is to be recited as ज्यायस्यै योनिम् । योनिमरैगप ।

६. एनमायुनगिन्द्रः ।

The word आयुनक्, used for the correct word अयुनक्, occurs in यमेन दत्तं त्रित एनमायुनगिन्द्र एणं प्रथमो अध्यतिष्ठत् (*Ṛ V.* I. 163.2). The Kramapāṭha therefore is एनमयुनगिन्द्रः of three words. Note that the word एणम् is used for एनम् here.

७. अहिहन्नारिणक्पथः ।

The word आरिणक् for the correct word अरिणक्, is used in the Saṁhitāpāṭha (*Ṛ V.* II. 13.5). There is, hence, the *trikrama* here as अहिहन्नरिणक्पथः ।

८. न्यावृणग्भरत ।

The Saṁhitā text is न्यवृणग्भरता सोममस्मै (*Ṛ V.* II. 18. 7) as printed in the Vaidik Samshodhan M. Edition. It must have been recited as न्यावृणग्भरत by the author of the *Upalekha Sūtra*

as he has pointed out *trikrama* here. आवृणक् is used for the correct अवृणक् There is *trikrama*, therefore, as न्यवृणगभरत of the words नि अवृणक् and भरत. There is no *trikrama* in those cases where the word अवृणक् is read in the Saṁhitā as in *ṚV.* II. 17. 6. The word आवृणक् is recited in the Saṁhitā for the correct अवृणक् elsewhere also as in *ṚV.* I. 53.9, 101,2; V. 29.10 and V. 32.8. The word अरुणक् is found used in the Saṁhitā in *ṚV.* II. 17.6.

९. अभ्यादेवमोजसा ।

The word आदेवम् occurs for the correct word अदेवम् in भुवद्विश्वमभ्यादेवमोजसा (*ṚV.* II. 22.4). In the Krama, three words अभि, अदेवम् and ओजसा are taken together and recited as अभ्यदेवमोजसा in the Kramapāṭha.

१०. रिक्थमारैक् चकार ।

आरैक् in the Saṁhitā is recited for the correct अरैक्. See Sūtra 5 above, where the passage न जायते तान्वो रिक्थमारैक् is given. The Krama, therefore, is here रिक्थमारैक्चकार of three words.

११. रुप आरुपितं जबारु ।

The word आरुपितम् is used for अरुपितम् which is the correct one. The Saṁhitā text रुप आरुपितं जबारु (*ṚV.* IV. 5.7) has the Pada text रुपः । अरुपितम् । जबारु ।. The क्रमपाठ of 3 words is recited here as रुपोऽरुपितं जबारु. The obscure word जबारु is treated in the *Nirukta* VI. 17 and explained as जरमाणरोहि or जवमानरोहि । रुपः is explained as 'from रुपो' रुप् meaning earth and अरुपितं as आरोपितम् by Sāyaṇācārya.

१२. अनायुधास आसता सचन्ताम् ।

In the Saṁhitā text अनायुधास आसता सचन्ताम् (*ṚV.* IV. 5.14) the word आसता is used for the correct word असता. Hence superseding आसता, the Krama recital is अनायुधासोसता सचन्ताम् which is an instance of त्रिक्रम.

१३. शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितम् ।

This is an instance of अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता as stated by Vyāḍi and others. The word चित् is inserted between the two parts

of the compound word शुनःशेपम्. The Saṁhitā text शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितम् has शुनःऽशेपम् । चित् । निऽदितम् । as the Padapāṭha, and the Kramapāṭha would be त्रिक्रम as शुनःशेपं चिन्निदितम् ।

१४. क आसतो वचसः ।

क आसतो वचसः सन्ति गोपाः (*Ṛ V.* V. 12.4) has the Padapāṭha as के । असतः । वचसः । सन्ति । गोपाः । the word असतः being the correct one for आसतः. There is त्रिक्रम, therefore, as केऽसतो वचसः ।

१५. य आयुक्त तुजा ।

य आयुक्त तुजा गिरा (*Ṛ V.* V. 17.3) has the Padapāṭha as यः । अयुक्त । तुजा । गिरा. The word आयुक्त is incorrect. Putting the correct word अयुक्त in the middle, this is recited योयुक्त तुजा । as त्रिक्रम.

१६. दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचः ।

The Saṁhitā text दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचः (*Ṛ V.* V. 29.10) has the strange form आवृणक् for the correct form अवृणक्. The Padapāṭha is दुर्योणे । अवृणक् । मृध्रऽवाचः. Accordingly there is the त्रिक्रम as दुर्योणेवृणङ्मृध्रवाचः । For details see Sūtra 8 above.

१७. दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचम् ।

The Saṁhitā text दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचम् (*Ṛ V.* V. 32.8) has the त्रिक्रमपाठ as दुर्योणेवृणङ्मृध्रवाचम्. See Sūtra 16 above as also Sūtra 8 above.

१८. वीरास एतन मर्यासः ।

The word इतन occurs at four places in the *Ṛk Saṁhitā* (1) अस्रेधन्त इतन वाजयन्तः (III. 29.9), (2) गातुमेतन (V. 87.8), (3) परेतन (X. 85.33) and (4) परा वीरास एतन मर्यासो भद्रजानयः (V. 61.4). The first three places have इतन as the correct word. Only in the last case एतन stands for इतन. एतन here cannot be taken as आ+इतन as in (2) and (3), as एतन in such cases has ए as उदात्त. Here एतन is सर्वानुदात्त and therefore एतन has to be taken as standing for इतन and hence, superseding एतन, वीरास एतन मर्यासः has to be taken as an instance of त्रिक्रम.

१९. आसु ष्मा णः[1] ।

In the passage आसु ष्मा णो मघवन्निन्द्र पृत्सु (ṚV. VI. 44.18) the change of स्म into ष्म is irregular. Hence, there is त्रिक्रम here आसु ष्मा णः ।

२०. अस्त्वासत इन्द्र ।

The expression अस्त्वासत इन्द्र वक्ता occurs in Ṛgveda VII. 104.8 where the word असतः meaning असत्यस्य is irregularly recited as आसतः in the Saṁhitā recital. Hence, there is त्रिक्रम here as अस्त्वसत इन्द्र ।

२१. हन्त्यासद्वदन्तम् ।

The expression हन्त्यासद्वदन्तम् occurs in Ṛgveda VII. 104.13 where आसत् (meaning असत्य) is incorrectly read for असत्. Hence, there is त्रिक्रम here as हन्त्यसद्वदन्तम्. The expression हन्त्यासत् where आसत् is irregular for असत् occurs in Ṛgveda VII. 104.12, but as the word here occurs at the end of the verse, no question of त्रिक्रम arises.

२२. नकिरादेव ओहते ।

The passage नकिरादेव ओहते occurs in Ṛgveda VIII. 59.2 which is a part of the Bālakhilyasūkta. The word आदेवः in the Saṁhitā is irregular for the correct word अदेवः which is noticed in the Padapāṭha. नकिरदेव ओहते is the *trikrama* here.

२३ निराविध्यद्गिरिभ्यः ।

The passage निराविध्यद्गिरिभ्य आ occurs in Ṛgveda VIII. 77.6 where आविध्यत् stands in the Saṁhitā as irregular for the correct अविध्यत्. This passage is quoted at many places by the writers on the eight Vikṛtis. निरविध्यद्गिरिभ्यः is the *trikrama* here.

२४. ईयते नरा च शंसं दैव्यम् ।

The passage द्वा जना यातयन्नन्तरीयते नरा च शंसं दैव्यं च धर्तरि occurs in Ṛgveda IX. 86.42 where the Padapāṭha is given as द्वा । जना । यातयन् । अन्तः । ईयते । नराशंसम् । च । दैव्यम् । च । धर्तरि । This is

1 V reads आशुष्माणः.

an instance of the insertion of quite another word between the two parts of a word, technically named अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता. Here as the wording नराचशंसम् is irregular for नराशंसं च, the previous word ईयते is to pass over नराशंसं च, and join itself with दैव्यम् in the Kramapāṭha.

२५. परीतो षिञ्चत ।

The passage परीतो षिञ्चता सुतम् occurs in *Ṛgveda* IX. 107.1 where the words परीतो षिञ्चत stand as irregular for परीतः सिञ्चत, इतो being irregular for इतः. The word इतः hence is to be passed over in the Kramapāṭha which is to be recited with the *trikrama* परीतः सिञ्चत. It should be noted here that the change of स् into ष् and the lengthening of त into ता are not looked upon as so irregular as to make the word सिञ्चत as liable to be passed over.

२६. कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजानम् ।

The passage कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजानम् occurs in *Ṛgveda* X. 33.4 where the word आवृणि is incorrectly used for अवृणि. Hence, passing over अवृणि, the त्रिक्रम is to be recited as कुरुश्रवणमवृणि राजानम्.

२७. नरा वा शंसं पषणम् ।

The passage नरा वा शंसं पूषणम् occurs in *Ṛgveda* X. 64.3 where, as above in Sūtra 24, वा is inserted between the two parts नरा and शंसम्. The Kramapāṭha, therefore, is नराशंसं वा पूषणम् consisting of three words.

२८. चित्कम्भनेन स्कभीयान् ।

The passage चास्कम्भं चित्कम्भनेन स्कभीयान् occurs as the last foot of the stanza *ṚV*. X. 111.5 where the word कम्भनेन is unwarranted for स्कम्भनेन. In the Kramapāṭha therefore the त्रिक्रम is to be recited as चित्स्कम्भनेन स्कभीयान्.

२९. एतेषां मध्यमपदान्यनवसानीयानि ।

In Sūtras 1 to 28 above, three words are mentioned in each Sūtra where out of the three, the middle one as an irregular one, is to be passed over and the Krama is to be recited by taking three words instead of two. The Krama unit is called त्रिक्रम in these cases.

३०. निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसमिति रात्र्यां पञ्चक्रमः ।

The passage निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसं देव्यायती occurs in *Ṛgveda* X. 127. 3. The word रात्र्याम् in the Sūtra means in the Rātrisūkta. The hymn X. 127. 1 consisting of 8 stanzas and beginning with रात्री व्यख्यदायती is called Rātrisūkta in which the stanza निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसम्... is the third. As stated in the Sūtra the Krama of five words is to be recited here which must have words numbered 2, 3, and 4 liable to be passed over. The second word उ is a word made up of a single vowel and has to be passed over. The word अस्कृत is an irregular word for अकृत, and hence has to be passed over. The word स्वसारम् presents a difficulty. If it be read स्वसारम् in the Saṁhitā text, then it can be passed over as an irregular word. The texts on *Aṣṭavikṛti* quote this passage as a solitary instance of *pañcakrama*, but they read निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसम्. If the recognized *Ṛgveda* text is seen, it is निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसम् and if स्वसारम् is looked upon as one of the few words liable to be passed over, then only the Krama of five words can be explained. The *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* in the line स्वसारमस्कृतेत्युभे परं वीराय एतन clearly states that both स्वसारम् and अस्कृत are to be passed over. Hence there remains no necessity of reading स्वसारम् and the expression निरु स्वसारमकृतोषसम् becomes a recognized instance of *pañcakrama*.

Section III

(तृतीयो वर्गः)

एकपदाद्विपदाद्याः

१. साधुरसिकन्याम्[1] ।

This section is found in the Poona and Satara manuscripts. It is not given in Vāṇivilāsa edition. The Bhāṣya text is very

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1 P S give the following passage as the third Varga : — "साधुरसिकन्यां सिषक्तु न उरौ देवा उरौ विद्वेषां रयथा वाजं महिराध आवां शुभ्रे ते ते देवाय रायरकामः प्रति नः स्तोमं स्वायुधासः पितुर्न पुत्रः स नो वाजेषु गावो न

(*Continued on the next page*)

incorrect in both the manuscripts and the Sūtras are difficult to be distinguished from the Bhāṣya. The sense of the Sūtra साधुरसिक्न्याम् is that the verse beginning with the word असिक्न्याम् and other such verses, consisting of one foot, two feet or three feet, half the verse is well determined in the traditional recital. The word असिक्न्याम् stands for असिक्न्यादिषु.

२. साधुरसिक्न्यादिप्रत्यञ्चमर्कमनयच्छचीभिरित्येतत्पर्यन्तं द्विपदैकपदा द्वाविंशतिरिति ।

From the verse असिक्न्यां यजमानो न होता (*ṚV.* IV. 17.15) up to प्रत्यञ्चमर्कमनयच्छचीभिः (X. 157.5) there are in the *Ṛgveda,* as the Bhāṣyakāra observes, 22 verses of 1, 2 or 3 feet and hence to define half-the-verse becomes doubtful; the clarification is as follows :—

३. तासां पञ्चैकपदाः । असिक्न्यां सिषक्तु न उरौ देवा आ वां सुम्ने इति ।

Verses असिक्न्यां यजमान नो होता (IV. 17.15), सिषक्तु न ऊर्जव्यस्य पुष्टेः (V. 41.20), उरौ देवा अनिबाधे स्याम (V. 43.16), आ वां सुम्ने वरिमन्त्सूरिभिः ष्याम् (VI. 63. 11) are verses of a single foot which have to be looked upon as half-the-verse (अर्धर्च).

४. भद्रं न इति पाक्षिकत्वादपक्रमत्वाच्च नोक्ता ।

In the verse भद्रं नो अपि वातय मनो दक्षमुत क्रतुम् । अधा ते सख्ये अन्धसो वि वो मदे रणन् गावो न यवसे विवक्षसे (X. 25.1) of four feet, with 8 syllables in the first two feet and 12 in the last two feet, no difficulty occurs as traditionally no Padapāṭha is recited in the case of this verse (vide Section VIII Sūtra 26).

(*Continued from the previous page*)

यूयं पवस्व सोम मदयान्निति तिस्रः । परि सुवानो नृभिर्ये मासः प्रत्यञ्चमर्कमनयच्छचीभिरिति द्विपदैकपदा द्वाविंशतिः। तासां सप्तदश द्विपदाः पञ्चैकपदा भरद्वाजाय दूतेरिव तच्चक्षुर्वृक्षाश्विन्मेऽधीन्वत्रेत्येतेषां पूर्वपादेवस्येत् पूर्वकृतं रूपमभिक्रमे यथा महितमुत्तरकृतं प्रत्यादाने निषसाद गोरोहेण नृम्णा शीर्षसु श्रद्धा हृदय्ययेति निदर्शनानि । सर्वमेवान्यद्यथासंहितमाचरेत्" ॥ ३ ॥

५. शिष्टाः सप्तदश द्विपदाः ।

The remaining 17 verses consist of two feet in each verse and the two feet together form half-the-verse, e. g. पितुर्न पुत्रः सुभृतो दुरोण आ देवाँ एतु प्र णो हविः (VIII. 19.27).

६. त्रिपदासु ऋक्षु पूर्वार्धर्चं तु द्विपदम् ।
उत्तरार्धर्चं तु पादमेव ।

In verses made up of 3 feet, many of which are in the Gāyatrī metre of three feet with 8 syllables in each foot, and others are in different metres with 8, 11 or 12 syllables promiscuously in a foot, the first two feet make half the verse and the third foot makes the other half.

७. भरद्वाजायदृतेरिवतच्चक्षुर्वृक्षाश्चिन्मेऽधीन्वत्रे
त्येतासां पञ्चानां पूर्वपाद एव कुर्यात् ।

In the five verses beginning with भरद्वाजाय, दृतेरिव, तच्चक्षुः, वृक्षाश्चिन्मो and अधीन्वत्र, the first foot should be taken as half the verse and the second and the third together should be taken as the other half. The verses are as follows :—

भरद्वाजायाव धुक्षता द्विता । धेनुं च विश्वदोहसमिषं च विश्वभोजसम् (VI. 48. 13), दृतेरिव तेऽवृकमस्तु सख्यम् । अच्छिद्रस्य० (VI 48. 18), तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं शुक्रमुच्चरत् । पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतम् (VII. 66 16), वृक्षश्चिन्मे अभिपित्वे अरारणुः । गां भजन्त मेहनाऽश्वं भजन्त मेहना (VIII. 4. 21) अधीन्वत्र सप्ततिं च सप्त च । सद्यो दिदिष्ट पार्थ्यः सद्यो दिदिष्ट मायवः (X. 93.15).

८. पूर्वकृतं रूपमभिक्रमे यथासंहितम् ।

In the case of the pair of words of the Krama recital, the change, caused by the first word in the initial letter of the latter word by rules of coalescence, remains intact in the first utterance (अभिक्रम) of that (latter) word. The word is uttered as it is in the Saṁhitā, but in its second utterance, the word should be taken as restored to its proper form. See Sūtra No. 9. This and the next Sūtra are based upon the following verse of the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* : पूर्वोत्तरकृतं रूपं प्रत्यादानावसानयोः । न ब्रूयात्, सर्वमेवान्यद्यथासंहितमाचरेत् (*Ṛk Prāt.* X. 5). The

instance given in the *Prātiśākhya* is यच्‌ शक्करीषु । शक्करीषु बृहता । The instances given in the Bhāṣya are अधि षु । विद्विषुणः । ताभिरूषु and the like.

९. उत्तरकृतं प्रत्यादाने ।

The change caused by the latter word in the final letter of the previous word remains intact in the second utterance (प्रत्यादान) of that (previous) word. In the second utterance i. e. when the word is uttered in the next pair as the first member, the word should be uttered in its proper form. The instances given in the *Prātiśākhya* are the following:— अग्ने अच्छ, अच्छा वद ॥ स्वस्मान्‌, अस्मा ँ अवतम्‌ ।[1]

Section IV

चतुर्थो वर्गः

परिगृह्यविशेषाः ।

१. परिगृह्याणि वक्ष्यामः ।

This is a Sūtra which is looked upon as अधिकारसूत्र. There will now be mentioned such simple or compounded words as are to be entwined with the word इति in the Kramapāṭha.

२. अतीत्य परिगृह्णीयात्‌ । अवगृह्यस्य द्वितीये वचनेऽवग्रहः[2] ।

The word इति is to be put after a word which is liable to be entwined after it has occurred a second time in the Kramapāṭha, e. g. take the Krama recital अग्निमीळे । ईळे पुरोहितम्‌ । पुरो-

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1 This chapter, consisting of 9 Sūtras, is not found at all in the printed copy named V. The nine Sūtras together with Bhāṣya on them, are found in the manuscripts P and S. As, however, the Sūtra portion is not shown separate from the Bhāṣya in both the manuscripts P and S, the Sūtras are made separate from the Bhāṣya by taking into consideration the nature of contents and the style of writing, and accordingly they are given here. As manuscript K gives the Sūtras only without Bhāṣya, they are given below as they are found in that manuscript copy.

2 S reads अवगृह्यस्य as a separate Sūtra and does not read द्वितीये वचनेऽवग्रहः at all. K reads अतीत्य परिगृह्णीयात्‌ । मात्रा ह्रस्वस्तावदवग्रहान्तरम्‌ । अवगृह्यस्य द्वितीये वचनेऽवग्रहः ।

हितं यज्ञस्य। पुरोहितमिति पुरःऽहितम्। यज्ञस्य देवम्। In the Krama recital the first word is to occur only once. From the second word onwards upto the end of half the stanza, all the words occur twice. Out of these words single-vowelled indeclinables, vocative singular nouns, *pragṛhya* words, compounds and other specified words, which are to be entwined, are, after their second utterance, taken again (परिगृह्यन्ते) and इति is put after them. Before इति, the *avagṛhya* word is uttered in its pure Pada form and then it is split up in the second utterance e. g. पिबापिबेत्। पिबापिबेति पिबऽपिब। सुषहा सोम। सुसहेति सुऽसहा। The Satara Ms. reads only अवगृह्यस्य as the Sūtra.

३. सहेतिकरणम्।

After इति has been added, the word should again be uttered e. g. ओ इत्यो। cf. सहेतिकरणं वेष्टयेत् (Bhāsya).

४. अवगृह्यम्।

If the word to which इति has been added, is liable to be split up, it should be so done e. g. आर्चत्कस्येत्यार्चत्ऽकस्य। See शरस्य चिदार्चत्कस्यावतात् (*R̥V*. I. 116 22) आर्चत्क means son of ऋचत्क according to Sāyaṇa.

५. आदिविकृतौ घक्षिक्षुक्षिप्रवादौ[1]।

The general rule is that the first part of the entwinement, or the repeated word with इति in the middle, is to be recited as it occurs in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, while the second one is to be recited as it occurs in the Padapāṭha. In the case of the words घक्षि, घुक्षि which have the first letter maimed in the Saṁhitā which recites the quaint or queer words दक्षि and दुक्षि, the correct words घक्षि and घुक्षि are to be recited at both the places e. g. घक्षीति घक्षि। घुक्षीति घुक्षि।

६. अन्तःपदविकृतमनन्यकारितम्।

If any letter inside a word is recited in the Saṁhitā as deformed or changed without any explicable reason for the change, the correct word is to be used in both the words e. g.

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1 S reads घक्षिघुक्षिप्रवादौ in the Bhāsya, and not in the Sūtra,

वावृधाना शुभस्पती (*Ṛgveda* VIII. 5.11) has the Padapāṭha as ववृधाना। शुभः। पती इति। The Krama recital is वावृधाना शुभः। ववृधानेति ववृधानाः। The Bhāṣyakāra gives the following examples: सुसुमेति सुसुम। सिसिक्तेति सिसिक्त। शुनःशेपमिति शुनःऽशेपम्। दुधुक्षन्निति दुधुक्षन्। अधुक्षदित्यधुक्षत्.

७. बहुमध्यगतानि[1]।

So also words intervening between two or more words in a unit of *Trikrama* or *Catuhkrama*, should also be recited again entwined with इति e. g. शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितम्। चिदिति चित्। or विद्धि षु णः। स्विति सु। The Poona Ms. adds च after बहुमध्यगतानि in the Sūtra.

८. आकारः सानुनासिकः[2]।

When आ with nasal sound at the end, forms the middle member of a Krama unit, it should be shown entwined e. g. ईष्ट आँ अग्नयः। एत्या। or मित्रयोराँ एति। एत्या. The Poona Ms. reads आकारश्चानुनासिकः as the Sūtra.

९. प्लुतादि च।

Words with their initial vowel lengthened in the Saṁhitāpāṭha possibly for metrical purposes, are to be recited entwined with इति after their recital as a Krama unit. आयुक्षातामश्विना। अयुक्षातामित्ययुक्षाताम। or आरैक्पन्थाम्। अरैगित्यरैक्। The word प्लुत means lengthened.

१०. अर्धर्चान्तं च।

Similarly the word at the end of half-a-verse should also be shown entwined separately, after its recital, evidently to mark the end of a verse-unit. For example, see the Kramapāṭha of अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्। ... as अग्निमीळे। ईळे पुरोहितम्। ... देवमृत्विजम्। ऋत्विजमित्यृत्विजम्। It can be noted here that Sūtras 2 to 10 are based upon अवगृह्याण्यतिक्रम्य सहेतिकरणानि च। धक्षिधुक्षिप्रवादौ च विकृतादी प्लुतादि च॥ अन्त.पदं च येषां स्याद्विकारोनन्यकारितः। एतानि परिगृह्णीयाद् बहुमध्यगतानि च॥ अर्धर्चान्त्यं च नाकारं प्रागतोननुनासिकम्। प्रत्यादायैव तं ब्रूयादुत्तरेण पुनः सह॥ (*Ṛk Prāt.* X. 6, 7, 8).

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1 S reads वहुमध्यगतानि.

2 P V read आकारश्चानुनासिकः; K reads अकारः सानुनासिकः.

११. संहितावत् पूर्ववचनं पदवदुत्तरम् ।

The first half of the entwinement should follow the Saṁhitā recital, while the latter half should follow the Pada recital.

१२. तयोरितिकरणमाद्युदात्तं मध्ये स परिग्रहः[1] ।

The word इति placed between the two words, has its initial vowel इ accented acute. This word should, by rules of coalescence, be joined with the preceding word as also with the following word. In short, the *veṣṭana* or entwinement should form a unit by itself; for example, instead of आ इति आ the *veṣṭana* recital should be एत्या.

१३. शुद्धमाकारं प्रत्यादायोत्तरेण पदेन संदध्यात्[2] ।

Pure i. e, unnasalised आ occurring in the Saṁhitāpāṭha as coalesced with the adjacent words in the *trikrama* should be taken out and recited again as joined with the word that follows it e. g. इन्द्रेहि । एहि । or ह्वयामसि त्वा । त्वेन्द्र । एन्द्र । The words here are ह्वयामसि त्वा । आ । इन्द्र । याहि । etc. (*Ṛgveda* VI. 41.5). The point to be noted is that आ is to be always recited in the Kramapāṭha along with the preceding and the following words forming a *trikrama*; but when आ is nasalised, it is to be taken and entwined as एत्या ; while, if it is pure, it is to be taken out from the *trikrama* and recited along with the next word as एन्द्र.

१४. समयात्परमाकारमर्धर्चादाविवोत्सृजेत् ।

The single-vowelled indeclinable आ should not be repeated in Kramapāṭha when it follows a *samaya* or an omittable group of words or phrase, just as when it occurs at the beginning, it is recited only once and not repeated.

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1 K S read संहितावत्पूर्ववचनं पदवदुत्तरम् । तयोरितिकरणमाद्युदात्तं मध्ये स परिग्रहः as one Sūtra. The Bhāṣya on this Sūtra is corrupt. S reads the sentence इतिकरणस्योभयतः संधिर्न स्वस्तस्यादिना तदिङ्ग्यमिति पुनर्बचनं स्वारयेयुः occurring in the Bhāṣya as a Sūtra. P reads न स्यात्तस्य instead of नस्वस्तस्य. K reads नस्तस्तस्यादिना तद्रिङ्ग्यमिव पुनर्वचनं स्वारयेयुः ।

2 P V omit the word पदेन.

१५. न च तं समयं क्रामयेत् संहितं समयं ब्रूयात्[1] ।

Similarly, following a *samaya*, आ is not to be repeated. The omittable phrase should be recited only once in the Kramapātha as it stands in the Samhitā text; it is never to be repeated. See अध्वर्यवो यः शतमासहस्रं भूम्याः .. ... *ṚV.* II. 14.7. Here the omitted phrase is अध्वर्यवो यः शतम् and आ occurs after it; so the Krama unit beginning with the *samaya* or omitted phrase is not to be completed at the end of आ, but, going ahead, it stops at the end of सहस्रम्. The Krama recital is अध्वर्यवो यः शतमा सहस्रम् । सहस्रं भूम्याः । भूम्या उपस्थे etc. Similarly the Krama recital of सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण चेषं नो वोळ्हमश्विना (*ṚV.* VIII. 35.4-6) is as follows :— सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण चेषम् । इषं नः । See also the Krama recital धातुर्द्युतानात्सवितुश्च विष्णोरासूर्यात् । सूर्याद्भरन् । अभरन्घर्मम् । घर्ममेते । (*ṚV.* X. 181.3) where धातुः ... विष्णोः is an omitted phrase in the Padapāṭha.

१६. ब्रूयात्तु समयोदयम्[2] ।

In the verse अस्मादद्य सदसः सोम्यादा विद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम् (*ṚV.* I. 182.8) आ occurs before the omitted phrase (समय) 'विद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम्'. The phrase 'विद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम्' is given as गलित in गलितप्रदीप III. The Kramapāṭha therefore is अस्मादद्य । अद्य सदसः । सदसः सोम्यात् । सोम्यादाविद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम् । Similarly in मित्रो न यो जनेष्वा यशश्चक्रे असाम्या (*ṚV.* X. 22.2) आ occurs before the ommittable phrase यशश्चक्रे असाम्या given as गलित in गलितप्रदीप II. 54. The Kramapāṭha therefore is यो जनेषु । जनेष्वा यशश्चक्रे असाम्या । Sūtras 15 and 16 are based upon इष्टक्रमत्वात् समयान् संदध्यात्सर्वशः क्रमे । पदेन च पदाभ्यां च प्रागवस्येदतीत्य च । (*Ṛk Prāt.* X 12). The instances given here, have the indeclinable आ before or after the omitted phrase which is not to be repeated in the Krama recital. The general rule that the *galita* or समय is not to be repeated given above in the words इष्टक्रमत्वात्....अतीत्य (*Ṛk Prātiśākhya*) is universally applicable.

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1 P S read संहितासमयं ब्रूयात्.

2 P reads आकारः समयाद्यस्तु... सहैव तौ as a verse in the Bhāṣya, and not as a Sūtra. K does not give आकार...सहैव तु at all.

१७. आकारः समयाद्यस्तु उकारो यस्तथाविधः ।
द्वितीये वचने वाच्यौ समयेन सहैव तौ[1] ॥

If the indeclinables आ and उ stand at the beginning of an ommitted phrase (समय), they should be taken in the next unit along with the omitted phrase. In short, their repetition does not matter e. g. भुवनस्य गर्भ आ रोदसी। आ रोदसी अपृणाज्जायमानः (*Ṛ V*. X. 45.6).

१८. त्रिक्रमः समयादौ चेत्पुनरप्यादिना सह तं पठेत्[1] ।

In the passage ते चिद्वासुर्न ह्यन्तमापुः समू नु पत्नीर्वृषभिर्जगम्युः (*Ṛ V*. I. 179.2) has समूनु as त्रिक्रम i.e. a Krama unit of three words सम्, उ and नु. The second part of त्रिक्रम viz. ऊनु is to be taken up and recited along with the omittable phrase पत्नीर्वृषभिर्जगम्युः । The Krama recital, in short, is आयुःसम् । समूनु । ऊनु पत्नीर्वृषभिर्जगम्युः । The sentence आ सर्वतातिमदितिं वृणीमहे (*Ṛ V*. X. 100. 1–11) is a famous refrain, and hence, an omittable phrase or समय. The indeclinable आ always forms a *trikrama* with the preceding and the following word. Hence, in the Krama recital beginning with the word which precedes आ, the whole passage ending with वृणीमहे is to be recited together only once.

१९. अकार-इकार-उकारान् व्यञ्जनपरान् वर्धमानान्
पदवत् परिगृह्णीयात्[2] ।

When the vowels अ, इ and उ in a word, are recited as lengthened in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, they should be recited in their usual short form in the Krama recital before इति as also after इति, provided they are followed by a consonant e. g. पुष्टावन्तो यथा पशुम् (*Ṛ V*. VIII. 45.16) has the Krama recital as पुष्टवन्तो यथा । पुष्टवन्त इति पुष्टऽवन्तः । यथा पशुम् । पशुमिति पशुम् । Similarly रथीतमं रथीनाम् (*Ṛ V*. I. 11.1) has the Krama recital as रथीतमं

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1 S omits this Sūtra although it gives its instance 'समू नु पत्नीः ... ' in the Bhāṣya. K reads सह तं पठेत् । उ नु पत्नीरा सर्वतातिमिति निदर्शनानि । V reads समू नु... as a part of the Sūtra.

2 V adds पुष्टवन्तो रथितम सुमयामीति निदर्शनानि. K does not read this Sūtra at all.

रथीनाम् । रथितममिति रथिऽतमम् । रथिनामिति । So also तुविक्षं ते सुकृतं सुमयं धनुः (*Ṛ V.* VIII. 77 11) has the recital सुमयमिति सुऽमयम् । in the Kramapāṭha. In उदावता त्वक्षसा (*Ṛ V.* VI. 18.9) the Krama recital is उदवतेत्युत्ऽअवता । So also नि रामय जरितः सोम इन्द्रम् (*Ṛ V.* X. 42.1) has रमयेति रमय in the Krama recital. Note that the correct word रमय is used in नमस्या रमया गिरा: । (*Ṛ V.* V. 52.13).

२०. अथ स्वरपराणि यथासंहितं परिगृह्णीयात्[1] ।

When, however, अ, इ and उ are lengthened in the Saṁhitā recital and are followed by a vowel, the first part of the entwinement should be like the Saṁhitā recital, e. g. अकवारी (*Ṛ V.* VII. 96.3) explained by Sāyana as अकुत्सितगमना, अधीमसि (*Ṛ V.* I. 80.15) and पुरूरुणा (*Ṛ V.* V. 70.1). Here the Krama recital is अकवारीत्यकवऽअरी, अधीमसीत्यधिऽइमसि and पुरूरुणेति पुरुऽउरुणाः. Note the lengthening of the vowel which is regular here by coalescence. In some copies उदवता वर्जम् is read as an additional Sūtra after this, and then the fourth Varga is completed. The manuscript followed, does not give this Sūtra at all. The Sūtra appears also as superfluous.

Section V

(पञ्चमो वर्गः ।)

टवर्गीयविशेषाः ।

१. टवर्गीयं संहितायां यत्पदे तवर्गीयं तत् पदवत्परिगृह्णीयात्[2] ।

A dental letter, which is changed into a lingual one in the Saṁhitā, should be recited in the entwinement of the Krama recital as it is recited in the Pada recital, i. e. as a dental one. See for example अभिष्टने ते (*Ṛ V.* I. 80.14) has the Kramaparigraha as अभिस्तन इत्यभिऽस्तने । Similarly गिरिष्ठाम् (*Ṛ V.* III. 44.2, IX. 85.10

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1 K V add अकवार्यधीमसि पुरूरुणेति निदर्शनानि.

2 K V add illustrations to the Sūtra wherever they occur in this and the following sections.

etc.) has the Krama entwinement as गिरिस्थामिति गिरिऽस्थाम्। So also, चन्द्रनिर्णिक् (*Ṛ V.* X. 106.8) has the Krama entwinement as चन्द्रनिर्निगिति चन्द्रऽनिर्निक्. So slso पितृयानमिति पितृऽयानम्। (*Ṛ V.* X. 2.7), तिस्थिपदिति तिस्थिऽपत् (*Ṛ V.* I. 162.20).

२. पद्ये विसर्जनीये[1] तपरे सकारापत्तिः।

In the case of words like मीळ्हुष्टम (*Ṛ V.* VI. 43.1) आविष्ट्य (*Ṛ V.* I. 95.5) and others, where *visarga* is changed into स्, स् into ष् and as a result, the following त् into ट्, the *parigraha* in the Krama recital follows the Pada recital, e. g. मीळ्हुस्तमायेति मीळ्हुःऽतमाय। आविस्त्य इत्याविःऽत्यः।

३. षत्वं सकारस्य तु पदवत् परिगृह्णीयात्।

स् changed into ष् in the Saṁhitā should be recited in the Krama entwinement as स् which is found in the Pada recital; e. g. पुरुसन्त्योरिति पुरुऽसन्त्यो (*Ṛ V.* IX. 58. 3) also सिसायेति सिसाय (cf. आ सिषायावरुद्धः *Ṛ V.* X. 28.10).

४. ऊष्मवृत्तेर्नकारस्य परिग्रहे प्रकृत्या।

The letter न् in the original word is sometimes nasalized and an aspirate letter is added to it, which is changed into र् or dropped by coalescence, for instance see सिन्धूँरिव प्रवणे... (*Ṛ V.* VI. 46. 14), अस्माँ अस्माँ इदुदेव (*Ṛ V.* VI. 32. 4). In the *parigraha* of the Krama recital, the original न् remains intact e. g. सिन्धूनिवेति सिन्धून्ऽइव। अस्मानस्मानित्यस्मान्ऽअस्मान्।

५. ऊष्मा षकारः सकारो वा कपपरः[2]
उपचारसंज्ञकस्तस्य लोपः परिग्रहे।

The word लोप here does not mean elision; it only means

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1 P V read पद्ये विसर्जनीये सकारापत्तिः संधौ. K transposes the Sūtras पद्ये विसर्जनीये° and षत्वं सकारस्य° and after the words सकारापत्तिः adds तुविस्तमाविस्त्य इति निदर्शने। स्तष्टभूतं स्थष्ठभूतं नृम्णभूतमादौ सषभूतस्य पदवत्परिगृह्णियात् तिस्थिपत्ते त्रैस्तुभाद्दा त्रैस्तुभं पितृयानं सुसुमेति निदर्शनानि। पदवत् प्रत्यारम्भास्तमु ष्टुहि केष्टा नरः प्रण इन्द्रो मोषु व इति निदर्शनानि। धक्षिधुक्षिजुधुक्षतोऽक्रतस्कम्भनेनेति पदवत् परिगृह्णीयात्।

2 S reads ऊष्मषकारः सकारः कपपरः. K adds after this Sūtra which is read as ऊष्मा षकारः सकारो वा कपपरः उपचारः संज्ञितस्तस्य लोपः

(*Continued on the next page*)

its utterance as ᳵ क and ᳵ प respectively which is termed जिह्वामूलीय and उपध्मानीय. This utterance was technically named उपचार in ancient works. The words चतुष्पदी, (*Ṛ V.* I. 164.41) चतुष्कपर्दा (*Ṛ V.* X. 114.3), रायस्कामः (*Ṛ V.* I. 78.2), पथस्पथः (*Ṛ V.* VI. 49.8) and others with स् or ष् substituted for the *visarga* have got the *jihvāmūlīya* before the gutteral letters क् and ख् and *upadhmānīya* before the labial letters प् and फ् in the first half of the *veṣṭana*, while in the second half the *visarga* is retained e. g. चतुᳵ पदी इति चतुःऽपदी । चतुᳵ कपर्दा इति चतुःऽकपर्दा । रायᳵ काम इति रायःऽकामः । पथᳵपथ इति पथःऽपथः । दक्षिणतᳵकपर्दा इति दक्षिणतः ऽकपर्दाः । चतुःᳵपादिति चतुऽपात् । सहᳵकृतमिति सहःऽकृतम् । आविᳵकृण्वतीमि-त्यायुःऽकृण्वतीम् ।

Section VI

(षष्ठो वर्गः)

पूर्पतिधूर्षदादीनां परिग्रहे विशेषाः

१. पूर्धूःस्वरिति पद्येष्वघोषवत्परेषु अन्तरा रेफलोपः परिग्रहे ।

The noun bases पुर्, धुर् and स्वर् have their र् changed into *visarga* in the first part of the entwinement when they are followed by a hard consonant. The words in the Saṁhitā are पूर्पतिम् (*Ṛ V* I. 174.10), धूर्षदम् (*Ṛ V.* I. 143. 7) and स्वर्पतिम् (*Ṛ V.* VIII. 97. 11), have the *veṣṭana* in the Krama recital as पूःपतिमिति पूःऽपतिम् । धूःसदमिति धूःऽसदम् and स्वःपतिमिति स्वःऽपतिम् । Similarly स्वःसातेति स्वःऽसाता । स्वःसामिति स्वःऽसाम् ।

२. पद्ये विसर्जनीये चपरे शकारापत्तिः संधौ ।

The words स्वश्चनाः and स्वश्चक्षाः (*Ṛ V.* IX. 84.5 and IX. 97. 46) retain their श् in the *parigraha* in the Krama recital स्वश्चना इति स्वःऽचनाः । स्वश्चक्षा इति स्वःऽ चक्षाः ।

(*Continued from the previous page*)

परिग्रहे चतुःपदी चतुःकपर्दा रायःकामः पथः पथ इति निदर्शनानि, an additional Sūtra— विक्रमावग्रहे रेफपरकपयोः परिक्रमदशायां परिग्रहे पूर्ववचने जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयावन्यत्र न भवतः इति शाकल्यः, and without adding any instances closes the chapter. As the instances are verily the same as those of the Sūtra ऊष्मा पकारः सकारो वा...probably this Sūtra is an explanatory remark of the Bhāṣyakāra, taken as a Sūtra, by the copyist.

३. परिपूर्वे कृपपरेऽन्तरा[1] षकारलोपः परिग्रहे ।

When the augment ष् is inserted between परि and कृ in the Saṁhitā recital, the *parigraha* or entwinement has the augment ष् dropped. परिकृण्वन्निति परिऽकृण्वन् । परिऽकृतस्येति परिऽकृतस्य । परिकृता इति परिऽकृताः ।

४. वनपूर्वे सद्परेऽन्तरा[2] रेफलोपः परिग्रहे ।

वनर्षदो वायवः । (*Ṛ V.* X. 46.7) has the *parigraha* of वनर्षदः as वनसद इति वनऽसदः । The consonant र् of the word वनर्षद in the Saṁhitā is dropped here; cf. also घर्षदं वनर्षदम् (*Ṛ V.* X. 132.7).

५. ह्रस्वे च पूर्वपद्यान्ते चन्द्रशब्दे पदेऽन्तरा[3] शकारलोपः परिग्रहे ।

The consonant श् which is inserted between the short vowel at the end of the first member of a compound word and the consonant च् at the beginning of the second member, is dropped in the entwinement. The words सुश्चन्द्र, पुरुश्चन्द्र and हरिश्चन्द्र in the Saṁhitā are entwined as सुचन्द्रमिति सुऽचन्द्रम् । पुरुचन्द्रमिति पुरुऽचन्द्रम् । हरिचन्द्र इति हरिऽचन्द्रः ।

६. धक्षिधुक्षिजुघुक्षतोऽकृतस्कम्भनेनेति पदवत् परिगृह्णीयात्[4] ।

The correct words धक्षि, धुक्षि, जुघुक्षतः, अकृत and स्कम्भनेन should be recited in the entwinement with इति as in the Padapāṭha instead of the strangely used word दक्षि, दुक्षि, जुगुक्षतः, अस्कृत and कम्भनेन; e. g. धक्षीति धाक्षि । दुधुक्षन्निति दुधुक्षन् । जुघुक्षत इति जुघुक्षतः । अकृतेत्यकृत । स्कम्भनेनेति स्कम्भनेन ।

७. दूळ्यदूणाशदूळभप्रवादान् ऊकारभूतान् रेफसहितान् पदवत् परिगृह्णीयात्[5] ।

दुर्ध्य, दुनर्श and दुर्लभ are the correct words; but instead of

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1 S reads कृपरेष्वन्तरा.

2 P V read षदपरे. K reads रेफषकारलोपः परिग्रहे वनसदमिति निदर्शनम् ।

3 S reads उत्तरेऽन्तरा सकारलोपः.

4 S reads जुगुक्षतो. K omits the Sūtra धक्षिधुक्षि° here, but reads it after the Sūtra ब्रूयात्तु समयोद्यम् (Sūtra IV. 16) along with two other Sūtras which are read as additional (see note 1 on page 67).

5 P V omit ऊकारभूतान्.

them the Saṁhitā recital has the actual words (प्रवाद) दूढ्य, दूणाश and दूडभ which are probably specimens of mannerism. In the entwinement, the correct words are to be used दुढ्यं इति दुःऽध्यः । दुर्नशमिति दुःऽनशम् । दुर्दभ इति दुःऽदभः ।

८. स्वधितिरिवेति रेफसंहितम्[1] ।

In स्वधितिरिव (*ṚV.* V. 7.8) the *veṣṭana* should have the consonant र्, substituted for *visarga*, retained e. g. स्वधितिरिवेति स्वधितिःऽइव ।

९. ज्योतीरथप्रवादं यथासंहितम् ।

The Saṁhitā word ज्योतीरथ should be recited in the *parigraha* as it is , e. g. ज्योतीरथमिति ज्योतिःऽरथम् । The author of the Bhāsya observes that this Sūtra is stated as an exception of अकार-इकार-(Sūtra 47) which enjoins the shortening of the vowels अ, इ, उ in the *parigraha*, if they are lengthened in the Saṁhitā recital. Really speaking the lengthening of the vowel इ in ज्योतीरथ is not due to metrical or any other similar consideration. The lengthening is due to the rules of coalescence which apply to the *sandhi* of ज्योतिस् and रथ.

Section VII

(सप्तमो वर्गः)

पूर्वपदान्तेतिकरणयोः संधिविशेषाः

१. पदान्तस्येतेश्च प्रश्लिष्य संधीन् वक्ष्यामः ।

There are described in the following Sūtras the various ways in which the word इति coalesces with the final letter of the previous word.

२. अकाराकारावेकारम् ।

The final vowels अ and आ of the preceding word and the initial vowel इ of इति combine into the vowel ए. The author of the Bhāsya gives the following instances. हिरण्यवाशीवत्तमेति हिरण्यवाशीवत्ऽतम । सप्तस्वसेति सप्तऽस्वसा । सुजुष्टेति सुऽजुष्टा ।

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1 P reads स्वधितिरिवेति च रसहितम्। K reads स्वधितिरिवेति रेफ॰ सहितम्.

३. इकारेकारावीकारम् ।

The final vowels इ and ई of the preceding word and the initial vowel इ of इति combine together into the vowel ई; e. g. विभावरीति विभाऽवरी । सानसीति सानसी । आपप्रुषीत्याऽपप्रुषी ।

४. उकारो वकारम् ।

The vowel उ, followed by इति, is changed into व्; e. g. देवस्विति देवऽस्यु । विभ्विति विऽभु ।

५. औकार आकारभूतो वकारम् ।

The vovel औ followed by इति, is changed into आव्; e. g. ऋतवृधावित्यृतऽवृधौ । सजोषसाविति सऽजोषसौ ।

६. एकारश्चाकारभूतो[1] विवृत्त्या

When ए is changed into अ and the consonant य् is dropped according to Pāṇini (P. VIII. 3.19), अ remains intact without combining with the vowel इ of इति e. g. विश्वजित इति विश्वऽजिते ।

७. ऐकार आकारभूतो विवृत्त्या ।

Similarly ऐ changed into आ, remains intact before इति, e. g. वावृधध्या उषासानक्ता । ववृधध्या इति ववृधध्यै । परादा इति पराऽदै ।

८. विन्दतीति दीर्घसन्धि परिगृह्णीयात् ।

The final vowel of the word विन्दती, combined with इ of इति, should be taken as it is in the first part of the entwinement.

९. द्वितीये वचने पदवत् प्लुतिः ।

In the second part विन्दती should be prolated i. e. lengthened as possessed of three *mātrās* and then nasalized, e. g, विन्दतीति विन्दती॑ as in the Pada racital.

१०. ऊष्मान्तं रेफेण ।

When a word ending in a *visarga* is to be entwined, the *visarga* is changed into र् in the first part before इति. The Bhāsyakāra here has supplied many instances: अद्भिरित्यत्ऽभिः ।

1 V reads एकार आकारो possibly by mistake for एकार अकारो.

मघोनीरिति मघोनीः। देवयुरिति देवऽयुः, दर्शता भूः, भूरिति भूः। ऋषेः, ऋषेरित्यृषेः। सचेमहि सचथ्यैः, सचथ्यैरिति सचथ्यैः। दिवःपृथिव्योरिति दिवःपृथिव्योः। वर्तनिं गौः, गौरिति गौः।

११. अकाराकारयोरनन्तरमूष्मा पदे[1] संहितायां वा रिफितो रेफेण।

When there is a *visarga* after the vowel अ or आ, it is sometimes changed into the consonant र् which remains as it is before इति. The instances quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra are दोषावस्तर्धिया, दोषावस्तरिति दोषाऽवस्तः। पुनःपुनर्जायमाना, पुनःपुनरिति पुनःऽपुनः। देवभाः परावताः भारिति भाः। हन्तना वधः, वधरिति वधः। धाराभिरक्षाः, अक्षारित्यक्षाः।

१२. अरिफितो विवृत्त्या।

When the *visarga* after अ or आ is not changed into र् in the Saṁhitā recital, then in the first part of the entwinement it should be dropped and the preceding vowel अ or आ should be left uncombined with the initial इ of इति. The Bhāṣyakāra gives the following examples :— दभीतिमावः आव इत्यावः। बृहद् भाः, भा इति भाः। वातजूतास्तरणिभिरेवैः, वातजूता इति वातऽजूताः। This Sūtra and the preceding one are to be read and interpreted together. The author of the Sūtra, according to his method of explaining the Saṁhitā text as resulting from the Pada text by the application of the rules of coalescence, means to say that *visarga* occurring at the end of a *pada* and preceded by अ or आ is found either changed into र् or omitted before the following इ of इति. The change of *visarga* into र् or its omission appears like an option, but it is not an ordinary option; it is a regulated option or व्यवस्थितविभाषा. If the *visarga* is substituted for र् which is an outcome of *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* prescribed for the vowel ऋ, र् takes the place of *visarga* in the Saṁhitā as also in the first part of the entwinement (see rule 10 above). If however, the *visarga* is substituted for र् which itself has been substituted for स्, the *visarga* is dropped (see rule 11).

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1 PV read अन्तरा ऊष्मपदे.

१३. अहरहः शुन्ध्युर्वर्जम्[1] ।

This Sūtra is given by the author of the Sūtra as an exception to Sūtra 11 above. The first part of the entwinement of अहरहः should not have the *visarga* omitted before इति, but it should be changed into र् as by Sūtra 10 e. g. अहरहरित्यहःऽअहः।
It should be noted that here the *visarga* is substituted no doubt for र्, but, in fact, र् is not substituted for स् here, it is substituted for न् and therefore Sūtra 11 should not be applicable here.

१४. वर्गाणां प्रथमान्तं स्वेन तृतीयेन ।

If the first part of the entwinement has the first of the five consonants forming a group, it should be changed into the third of the group before इति ; e. g. हिरण्यनिर्निगिति हिरण्यऽनिर्निक्. Note that the Saṁhitā word निर्णिक् is recited as निर्निक् in the Pada recital. Similarly शुचिसदिति शुचिऽसत्; also स्तुबिति स्तुप्.

१५. स्वेनोत्तमान्तमुत्तमेन ।

The last of the class consonants remains the last before इति e. g. धनञ्जयमिति धनम्ऽजयम्.

१६. ह्रस्वपूर्वौ ङ्नौ क्रामयेत्[2] ।

The consonants ङ् and न् are doubled before इति provided they are preceded by a short vowel ; e. g. मघवन्निति मघऽवन्। सदृङ्ङिति सऽदृङ्. Note, according to Pāṇini ङ्, ण् or न् standing at the end of a word has ङ्, ण् or न् added before it when preceded by a short vowel and followed by any vowel. Cf. ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् (P. VIII. 3.32).

१७. दर्द्दिति वर्ग्गिति पर्यावर्द्दिति ।

The last letter द् of दर्द् and पर्यावर्द् and ग् of वर्ग् is doubled before इति ; e. g. दर्द्दिति दर्त्।। वर्ग्गिति वर्क्। पर्यावर्द्दिति पर्यावर्त्।

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1 P reads अहरहः शुन्ध्युरितिवर्जम् । V reads अहरहः शुन्ध्युः.

2 S reads ह्रस्वपूर्वौ ङः वृत्तात्क्रामयेत्; KV read ह्रस्वपूर्वौ ङनवान्तै क्रामयेत्। मघवन् सुदृङिति निदर्शने। K reads पर्यावर्द्दिति च.

१८. सहेतिकरणे यथापदसंधिः[1] ।

When a word has इति added in the Pada recital i. e. when a word before इति is प्रगृह्य, the first part of the entwinement should follow the Pada recital e. g. चर्मणी इवेति चर्मणीऽइव । अभिस्तुते इत्यभिऽस्तुते । अस्मे इत्यस्मे ।

१९. ष्णुसंहिते स्नुभिपदे[2] यथापदवत् प्रत्यारम्भः[3] ।

The word स्नुभिः which is recited as ष्णुभिः should be स्नुभिः in the entwinement as it is in the Pada recital; e. g. अधिष्णुभिः, (*ṚV*. V. 60.7; V. 87.4), स्नुभिरवीनाम् (*ṚV*. IX. 107.8), स्नुभिरिति स्नुऽभिः ।

२०. टकारान्तं ळकारेण ।

This is an exception to Sūtra 13 above. When a word ends in the consonant ट्, the consonant ट् should be changed into ळ् e. g. भोजते विट्; विळिति विट् । विभ्राड् बृहत्, विभ्राळिति विऽभ्राट् ।

Section VIII

(अष्टमो वर्गः)

इतिकरणपदादिसंधिविशेषाः, स्वरविशेषाः कम्पविशेषाश्च

१. उक्तः संधिः पदान्तानाम् ।

The coalescence of the final letter of a word preceding इति with the vowel इ of इति is given in the previous chapter.

२. पदादीनां वक्ष्यामः ।

Now we begin, says the Sūtrakāra, to state rules regarding the coalescence of the final letter इ of इति with the initial letter of the word that follows.

३. स्वरादि तयकारयोः संयोगमापद्यते ।

If the word that follows इति begins with a vowel the preceding final ति of इति is changed into the conjunct consonant त्य; e. g. ऋत्विजमित्यृत्विजम् । ऋष्वौजा इत्यृष्वऽओजाः ।

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1 PV read यथापदवत्संधिः ।

2 P reads स्नुभिःशब्दे. K reads प्लुतसंहिते स्नुभिःशब्दे यथापदे प्रत्यारम्भः.

3 PV read यथापदप्रत्यारम्भः । K reads यथा पदे प्रत्यारम्भः.

४. इकारेकारवर्जम् ।

The change of ति into त्य् does not take place if इ or ई occurs after इति.

५. तावीकारमापद्येते[1] ।

In that case the following इ or ई is combined into ई with the preceding इ.

६. व्यञ्जनाद्यसंयुक्तं प्रकृत्या ।

If a consonant follows इति, the final इ of इति remains uncombined e. g. श्रतपाकमिति श्रतऽपाकम् । पृश्निगाव इति पृश्निऽगावः ।

७. संयोगादि छकारादि च क्रामयेत्[2] ।

If the word following इति begins with a conjunct consonant or with the consonant छ्, the consonant following इति should be doubled, e. g. प्रुषितप्सुरिति प्प्रुषितऽप्सु· । श्रुतऋषिमिति च्श्रुतऽऋषिम् । छन्दस्तुभ इति च्छन्दऽस्तुभ· ॥

अथ स्वरविशेषाः

८. उदात्तादनुदात्तं स्वारयेन्न चेत् स्वरितोदात्तपरम् ।

A grave-accented syllable following an acute-accented one, is changed into a circumflex-accented syllable provided it is not followed by a syllable which has an acute or a circumflex accent e. g. अग्निमीळे, अग्निर्देवता· Here मी gets a circumflex accent; but दे does not get a circumflex accent as it is followed by व which is acute-accented. Cf. उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः। नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् (P. VIII. 4. 66 ; 67).

९. उदात्तेनैकीभूतमुदात्तं भवेत्[3] ।

If a vowel with any accent combines with another vowel which has an acute accent, the combined vowel gets an acute accent e. g. वक्ष्यतीति' वक्ष्यति or इतीति' । Here ती gets an acute accent. Cf एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः (P. VIII. 2.5).

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1 S reads इकारईकारयोर्नोपपद्येते K reads तावीकारमापद्येत कुवित्सोमस्यापामिति निदर्शनम् ।

2 S omits this Sūtra, but gives the Bhāṣya thereon.

3 K reads उदात्तेनैकीभूतमुदात्तीभवेदितरोऽनुदात्तः स्वारितो वा प्रचयो नियंता नियच्छेन् स्वरितात्प्रचयस्वरं नयेत् स्वरितात्पराणि यान्यनुदात्तानि कानिचित् सर्वाणि प्रचयं यान्त्युपोदात्तं निहन्यते ।

१०. नियतान् नियच्छेत् ।

Syllables following a grave syllable become grave-accented in the entwinement e. g. य इन्द्र । इन्द्र सोमपातमः ।

११. स्वरितात् प्रचयस्वरं नयेत् ।

After a *svarita* syllable, the following *anudātta* syllables, irrespective of their number, get the *pracaya* accent e. g. इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति । अग्निमीळे । व्यक्ता इति विऽअक्ताः । उपोपेत्युपऽउप । ऋतेन मित्रावरुणावृतावृधावृतस्पृशा ।

१२. उपोदात्तं निहन्यते ।

That syllable which approaches i. e. which is immediately followed by an acute-accented syllable, becomes specially grave-accented.

१३. नियतादेः पदस्य[1] व्यञ्जनादेरितिकरणान्तं स्वारयित्वा पदं प्रकृतिवद् ब्रूयात् ।

If the first part of the entwinement begins with a consonant and is wholely grave-accented, it should be recited as in the Saṁhitā text and the final vowel of इति should be made *svarita*; e. g. रत्नधातममिति रत्नऽधातमम् (*Ṛ V.* I. 1.1), सुरूपकृत्नुमिति सुरूपऽकृत्नुम् (*Ṛ V.* I. 4. 1).

१४. अथ स्वरादेराद्यमक्षरं सहेतिकरणान्तेन स्वारयित्वा पदशेषं प्रकृतिवद् ब्रूयात् ।

If, however, the first word begins with a vowel, that vowel in the second part of the entwinement being combined with the final vowel of इति, is made *svarita* and the remaining part should be accented as in the Saṁhitā text; e. g. अल्लाभवन्तीरित्यल्लाऽभवन्तीः (*Ṛ V.* IV. 18.6), अहरिस्वनिरित्यहरिऽस्वनिः (*Ṛ V.* I. 56.4), आय इत्याऽअये (*Ṛ* V. II. 38.10).

१५. उदात्तस्योदात्तादेश्च व्यञ्जनादेः एकाक्षरनियतस्य च स्वरादेः,[2] स्वरितादेश्च इतिकरणान्तं नियच्छेत् ।

The final vowel of इति should be recited as *anudātta* when इति follows an *udātta* syllable or a syllable beginning with an

1 P V read नियतादिपदस्य.

2 S reads एकाक्षरस्य निहतस्य स्वारादेः .

udātta vowel, or a *svarita* word like स्वर् or a word beginning with a *svarita* syllable, provided all these four kinds of words begin with a consonant; e. g. स इति सः । त इति ते । मनोजवसेति मनःऽजवसा । अप्सुर इत्यप्ऽसुरः । अप्स्वित्यप्ऽसु । आधा इत्याऽधै । स्वर्वतीति स्वःऽवती । व्योमतीति विऽओमती । कोरे इति कोः ।

१६. उदात्तस्योदात्तादेश्च स्वरादेरितिकरणमुदात्तं भवेत्[1] ।

Both the vowels of the word इति are recited as *udātta* if the word preceding इति is made up of an *udātta* vowel, e.g. एत्या । ओ इत्यो । ऋषिभिरित्यृषिऽभिः ।

१७. सर्वं नियतं[2] प्रचयस्वरं नयेत् ।

After the syllable ति of इति, all the *anudātta* vowels which follow, are recited with *pracaya* tone e. g. अच्युतच्युदित्यच्युतऽच्युत् ।

१८. समापाद्यान्युत्तरे षट्पकारे[3] राधो रथो ग्ना दिवो जा ऋतश्च । अञ्जःपादुःप्रेति च पूर्वपद्यावनिङ्ग्यन् विक्रममेषु कुर्यात् ॥

This Sūtra in the verse form as given above, occurs in the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* (XIII. 11). When followed by a word beginning with the consonant प्, the six words राधः, रथः, ग्नाः, दिवः, जाः and ऋतः are not shown as separate by *avagraha*. They are technically called समापाद्य (combining with the following word so as to form one uncompounded word). In the Padapāṭha *visarga* should be recited instead of स् before the consonant प् e. g. त्वं हि राधस्पते (*ṚV.* VIII. 61.14) is recited in the Pada recital as त्वम् । हि । राधःपते । The words अञ्जस्पा and दुष्प्र are recited in the Padapāṭha as अञ्जः पा and दुःप्र respectively.

अथ कम्पविशेषाः

१९. कम्पयेन्नीचस्वरितं ह्रस्वदीर्घावुभौ स्वरौ । ह्रस्वे ह्रस्वं विजानीयाद्दीर्घे दीर्घं तथैव च ॥

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1 S reads उदात्तभूतं भवेत्. K reads इतिकरणान्तमुदात्तीभवेदो इत्यहरिति निदर्शने.

2 S reads निहतं.

3 P V read षट्परे ... । अञ्जः पादुः प्रेति च ।

स्वरितस्यानुरूपेण कम्पं कुर्वीत शास्त्रवित् ॥
उदात्ता यत्र दृश्यन्ते तत्र कुर्वीत कम्पनम्[1] ॥
उदात्तात्स्वरिताद्वापि कम्प उत्पद्यते क्वचित ॥
संहितायां पदे वापि नीचस्वरितमुच्यते ।
तत्पदं हि भवेत्कम्प्यमाकारान्तं च वर्जयेत् ॥
क्रमकाले त्वकम्पः स्यान्नीचं चेदुत्तरं पदम्[2] ॥

In these lines, *kampa* or recital of the *svarita* vowel with a quivering tone, is discussed. The *svarita* accent has in general two varieties, जात्यस्वरित which is known as independent or primary *svarita*, and सांहितिकस्वरित or secondary *svarita*. *Svarita* accent is defined as a combination of the *udātta* and *anudātta* accents. This definition well applies to the *jātya* or independent *svarita* which, in fact, is a combination of an *udātta* vowel such as इ, उ or ए followed by an *anudātta* vowel with which it is combined by यण्संधि or by एकादेश. In order that the utterance of *svarita* as a combination of the acute and grave accents should be audibly distinguished, a method of utterance with a high tone, immediately followed by a low tone, came into practice which came to be known as *kampa* or *quaver* or *tremor*, on account of its similarity with quivering or trembling. The distinguishing feature of this primary

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1 S reads उदात्तो यत्र न दृश्यते कम्पं तत्र न कुर्वीत । P reads अन्यं पदं विचार्येत उदात्तो यत्र दृश्यते । कम्पं तत्र न कुर्वीत म चोदात्तेन संयुतम् ॥

2 S reads क्रमकाले तु कम्पस्य नीचं वदक्षर पदं (possibly नीचं चेदरक्षं परम्). K reads as —

स्वरितस्यानुसारेण कम्पं कुर्वीत शास्त्रवित् ॥
उदात्तात् स्वरिताद्वापि कम्प उत्पद्यते क्वचित् ।
क्रमकाले तु कम्पः स्यान्नीचं चेदुत्तरं पदम् ॥
लोपं याति क्रमे कम्पोनुदात्ते तु परे पदे ।
उदात्ते तु प्रकृत्या स्यादभ्यर्पं क निदर्शनम् ॥
कम्पं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं चालनं स्वरितं तथा ।
क्रमकाले स्थान्तं न प्रत्यञ्चो यं तु संहिता ॥
संहितायां पदे वापि नीचस्वरितमुच्यते ।
तत् पदं हि भवेत् कम्प्यमाकारान्तं च वर्जयेत् ॥
आकाराद्यधिकाक्षरं कम्पं तत्र न कुर्वते ।
नीचेति द्रोण्यश्वास इति कम्पवर्जम् ॥

svarita is that it is preceded by a grave (अनुदात्त) syllable as contrasted with the secondary *svarita* which is invariably preceded by an acute accented (उदात्त) syllable. On account of this distinguishing feature, the independent *svarita* is called नीचस्वरित. Both short and long vowels can be uttered with *svarita* accent characterized by tremor, the tremor taking comparatively a shorter time in the case of a short vowel.

There are differences of opinion regarding कम्प among the traditional scholars of Veda. Some ancient scholars like माण्डूकेय and others, believe that the utterance of the independent *svarita* is and should always be characterized by quivering. Our author here follows the definite ruling given by Śaunaka in the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* that quaver should be observed, only when the independent *svarita* is followed by an acute-accented syllable. This tremor is observed in the Saṁhitā recital as also in the Pada recital and naturally it is observed in the Krama, Jaṭā, Ghana and other recitals. A syllable ending in आ, even though it has the independent *svarita* accent and is followed by an acute-accented syllable, should never be uttered with quaver; so also, there is no utterance with quaver in the Krama recital when the second part of the compounded word is wholely grave-accented. The instances of *kampa*, given by the Bhāṣyakāra, are अभ्य१भीत्यभिऽअभि । स्रुचीँ३वेति स्रुचीऽइव । चम्वी३वेति चम्विऽइव । वीय३र्नति वीर्येणे । पुरी३वेति पुरिऽइव ।

२०. न्यगित्येतस्यानीचानामपि कम्पः व्योमेत्युदात्तादीनाम् ।

The text in the manuscript is very corrupt here. The Bhāṣya does not throw any light on it. The Sūtra text given here is, as it seems, to have been stated by the Sūtrakāra. The words न्यक् व्योम and others which have got their first syllable accented *svarita*, are uttered with quaver in the Kramapāṭha although they are not preceded by a grave-accented syllable.

२१. व्यक्तारीत्यापेत्याकारान्तयोरपि ।

The words व्यक्ता and रीत्यापा have the *svarita* vowels अ and आ of their syllables व्य and त्या uttered with tremor inspite

of the prohibition of कम्प in the case of words ending in आ by Sūtra 19 above e. g. व्य१क्तेति वि॒ऽअक्ता । रीत्या३पेति रीतिऽआपा ।

२१. प्रशस्तिकृदेकस्यचिदतो नो रुद्राःक१वोश्वा इति प्रथमं नाना ह्य१ग्ने त्वां हीन्द्र कदून्वस्याभ्यार्षैषमूर्जं क्रमकाले नव कम्पलोपः ।

In passages beginning with प्रशस्तिकृत् (*Ṛ V.* I. 113.19), अतो नो रुद्राः (*Ṛ V.* V. 60.6), क वोश्वाः (*Ṛ V.* V. 61.2) and others *kampa* is not observed in the Krama recital by traditional convention as the *svarita* is not followed by *udātta* here. *Kampa* is observed in the Saṁhitā recital, as there, the *svarita* vowel is followed by an acute-accented or *udātta* vowel.

२२. यथापदं द्वैपदान्ते अवस्येत्[1] ।

This is a general observation regarding the Krama recital by way of summarizing what has been stated above. The Karma recital should be based on the Pada recital and pairs of words arranged as *ab, bc, cd, de,* etc. should be recited unless stated otherwise.

२३. समयान्ते द्वैपदमवस्येन्न च तं समयं क्रामयेत्[2] ।

In the cases of *samaya* or *galita*, where three or more words are dropped in the Pada recital after they have occurred thrice, care should be taken that no word included in the *samaya* is recited twice as required by the Krama recital. Words included in the *samaya* should be recited only once.

२४. संधाय समयं परे द्वैपदेऽवस्येत्[3] ।

The words included in the *samaya* which are to be recited only once in the Kramapāṭha, should be recited as joined by rules of coalescence ; e. g. वष्टिष्टुभमिषं मन्दद्वीरायेन्दवे (*Ṛ V.* VIII. 69.1).

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1 S reads व्यवस्येत्. K reads द्वैपदान्तेष्ववस्येत् । समयादौ पदेवस्येत् संधाय.

2 P V read समयद्वैपदेय(व)स्येन्न च संक्रामयेादेति ।

3 P V read परेण द्वैपदेवस्येत्.

२५. एकं समयमध्ये[1] चेदतिक्रम्य परेण तु ।

If one single word occurs between two *samayas* one should pass it over, it should also be recited once and should not be repeated in the Krama recital, e. g. ताश्चित् चिन्नूनमरन्ते.

२६. त्र्यम्बकं भद्रं नः प्रजापते ऋतं च सत्यं चेत्यपदक्रमम्[2] ।

The four verses त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे० (*R̥V.* VII. 59.12), भद्रं नो अपि वातय (*R̥V.* X. 25.1), प्रजापते न त्वदेतान्य० (*R̥V.* X. 121.10) and ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात्० (*R̥V.* X. 190.1) should not have the Krama recital as they have no Pada recital according to traditional convention.

क्रममिममुपयान्ति ये विशेषाः पदपाठात् समयेन संहिताभ्यः ।
लिखति परिगणय्य शौनकाद्यैः कथितांस्तानुपलेखशास्त्रमेतत् ॥

This stanza does not actually occur in the text of the manuscripts which are followed. The Sūtra text, as also the Bhāsya text, is very corrupt here. From the words in the

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1 P V read समयेमध्ये । K reads समयमध्ये चेदतिक्रम्य परेण तु । सुहासे दस्रा सोचिन्नूनमरातिताश्चिन्नूमनरातिनोयोनिष्ट इन्द्र० .

2 V adds after this, the stanza क्रमामिममुभयाभिगीतं द्विजवरगुरुणादरेण पठितम् । पठितापि पुण्यकर्मा भवति शास्त्रमुपलेखं शास्त्रमुपलेखम् and completes the work with the words नमः शौनकाय without any Bhaṣya. K reads क्रममिम.... पठितोपि पुण्यकर्मा भवति सर्वजनार्चितोर्चितो भवति शास्त्रमुपलेखं नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय ॥ K after repeating नमः शौनकाय adds :– अकारादयो म्याविध्यादिलीविशस्य साधुरसिक्न्यां परिगृह्याणि टवर्गीय पूर्धूंःस्वरिति पदान्तस्येतेश्च उक्तः संन्धिरष्टौ । इति भारद्वाजप्रोक्ते उपलेखा समाप्तः ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु । इदं पुस्तकं शके १७५५ विजयनामसंवत्सरे पौषशुक्लैकादश्यां घळसासीत्युपनामकमाधवाचार्यात्मज –अनन्तेन लिखितम् । श्रीमार्तण्डभैरवार्पणमस्तु ॥

The printed Calcutta copy of the *Upalekhasūtram* edited by Satyavrata Sāmaśrāmi in Saṃvat 1951 reads क्रममिम... प्रपठितम् । पठितोपि ... मुपलेखं शास्त्रमुपलेखम् as Sūtra 36 and thereafter adding नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय as Sūtra 37, concludes as follows : इत्युपलेखभाष्ये अष्टमो वर्गः । समाप्तं चेदमुपलेखाख्यं पदाशिष्टम् । Satyavrata Sāmaśrāmi in his Sanskrit introduction remarks :— तद्भाष्यकर्तुर्मते अस्याष्टवर्गात्मकत्वम् । मूलदर्शनात्त्ववगम्यते नववर्गात्मकत्वम् । वस्तुतो मूलपुस्तकीयावष्टमनवमावुभावेव वर्गौ तत्र भाष्ये एकीकृत्याष्टवर्गात्मकत्वमापादितम् । मूलपुस्तकपाठानां भाष्योद्धृतपाठानां चास्ति मिथः किञ्चिन्न्यूनाधिक्यं क्रमव्यत्यासश्च ।

Bhāṣya commenting upon the concluding portion of the Sūtra text, the stanza is arranged. The concluding portion of the Bhāṣya as given in the Poona manuscript is as follows: इदानीं क्रमत्रयस्य प्रकृत्या छन्दशः लक्षणं क्रममिममुपयालिंगिनामेव समये सदृशाः विशेषाः संहिताभ्य इत्यर्थः। ते लेख्यन्ते यस्मिन् तान् लिखयति गणयति कृत्स्नशो निरूपयति उपलेखाशास्त्रम्। यथा च संज्ञाविशेषाः स्वरादयः पूर्वमुक्तास्ततो वर्गातपदादीनां विशेषा इत्येव सदृशाः सदृशा विधयः तस्मादिदमुपलेखाशास्त्रमिति शास्त्रान्ते बृहदाचार्यः नमस्करोमीति नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय। आवृत्त्यर्थः परितोषार्थो वा द्विरभ्यास इति ॥

इत्युपलेखाभाष्ये अष्टमो वर्गः समाप्तः।

त्रिक्रमचतुःक्रमविशेषाः ततः परिगृह्या ततः त्वंनत्वे (न त्वन्यतः)।
इत्युपलेखाभाष्यं समाप्तम्। ततः एकपदाः द्विपदाः ॥ *

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा (दृष्टं) तादृशं लिखितं मया।
यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न विद्यते ॥
भग्नपृष्टकटिग्रीवः स्तब्धदृष्टिरधोमुखं (खः)।
कष्टेन लिखितं ग्रन्थं यत्नेन परिपालयेत् ॥
रसमुन्युत्तरनगोर्वीशते शक उत्तरे।
आनन्दशुचिशुक्लेन सप्तमीयुतवासरे ॥
अनन्तधुष्करेणेदं लिखितं भाष्यमुत्तमम्।
क्रमलक्षणबोधायोपलेखाया यथागतम्।*
श्रीवेदपुरुषार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीवासुदेव ॥

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* The concluding portion of the Satara manuscript is as follows:— इदाना क्रमंतस्य क्तं प्रवृत्त्या तस्य कालमाह— क्रमभिममुभयागीतं उप समीपे सदृशीं विशेषान्। संनिहिता इत्यर्थः। ते लेख्यते गण्यते यस्मिन् ता लेखयति गणयति कृत्स्नशो निरूपयति। इत्युपलेखोपलेखशास्त्रम्। तथा च स्वरसंज्ञाविशेषाः स्वरा यः पूर्वमुक्ताः। ततः त्रिक्रमचतुःक्रमे विशेषाः। तत एकपदाद्विपदाद्याः। ततः परिगृह्याद्याः। ततः षत्वणत्वाद्याः। ततो विसर्गान्तपदानां विशेषाः। ततः पदान्तस्येति आद्यन्तयोः संधिविशेषाः। ततः स्वरविधयः। ततः कम्पविशेषाः। इत्येवं सदृशा सदृशा विधयः। तस्मादिदमुपलेखाशास्त्रमिति। शास्त्रान्ते वृद्धमाचार्यं नमस्करोमि नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय॥ माटे इत्युपनामककेशवभट्टेन लिखितम्। स्वार्थं परार्थं च॥